

COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW

Spring, 1962

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Washington 1962: the correspondents, the sources, the news

Big magazines — how they die, how they survive

“Blackouts” on public-affairs television

...to assess the performance of journalism in all its forms, to call attention to its shortcomings and its strengths, and to help define—or redefine—standards of honest, responsible service...

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Spring, 1962

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Dean and editorial chairman: Edward W. Barrett. Managing editor: James Boylan. Business manager: Robert O. Shipman. Production assistant: Lois Ireland. Circulation assistant: Joan Moravek.

Advisory editors: Richard T. Baker, Warren Burkett, John Foster, Jr., John Hohenberg, Robert Hewes, Penn T. Kimball, J. Ben Lieberman, John Luter, Lawrence D. Pinkham, Louis M. Starr, William A. Wood.

Contributing editors: Ferdinand Kuhn, Samuel Lubell, Allan Nevins, Leo Rosten, William L. Shirer.

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WHY A REVIEW OF JOURNALISM?

What journalism needs, it has been said time and again, is more and better criticism. There have been abundant proposals for professional study panels, for institutes with squads of researchers, for critical journals.

Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism has decided to attempt such a journal. Two considerations brought about the decision: First, the need, magnified in a critical era like this, for some effort to assess the performance of journalism in all its forms, to call attention to its shortcomings and its strengths, and to help define—or redefine—standards of honest, responsible service. Second, the obligation that falls on a serious professional school—a graduate institution, national in character—to help stimulate continuing improvement in its profession and to speak out for what it considers right, fair, and decent.

Columbia's Faculty of Journalism cannot pretend to Olympian qualifications. It does combine the detachment needed to be reasonably impartial with the professional experience needed to sense what is possible and what is not. It can also draw upon the vast experience of its part-time teaching staff and its alumni, as well as upon the growing number of alert, inquiring minds within journalism and informed critics from outside.

All the proposals for organized criticism—whatever their intent or merit—point to one conclusion: that there exists, in and out of the profession, a widespread uneasiness about the state of journalism. The School shares this uneasiness, not over any supposed deterioration but over the probability that journalism is not yet a match for the complications of our age. It believes that the urgent arguments for a critical journal far outweigh the hazards.

In launching this experiment, the School has set for the *Review* these goals:

To deal forthrightly with what it finds to be deficient or irresponsible and to salute what it finds to be responsible, fair, and professional.

To discuss all the means that carry news to the public, thus viewing the field whole, without the customary partitions.

To provide a meeting ground for thoughtful discussion of journalism, both by its practitioners and by observers, to encourage debate, and to provide ample space for dissent.

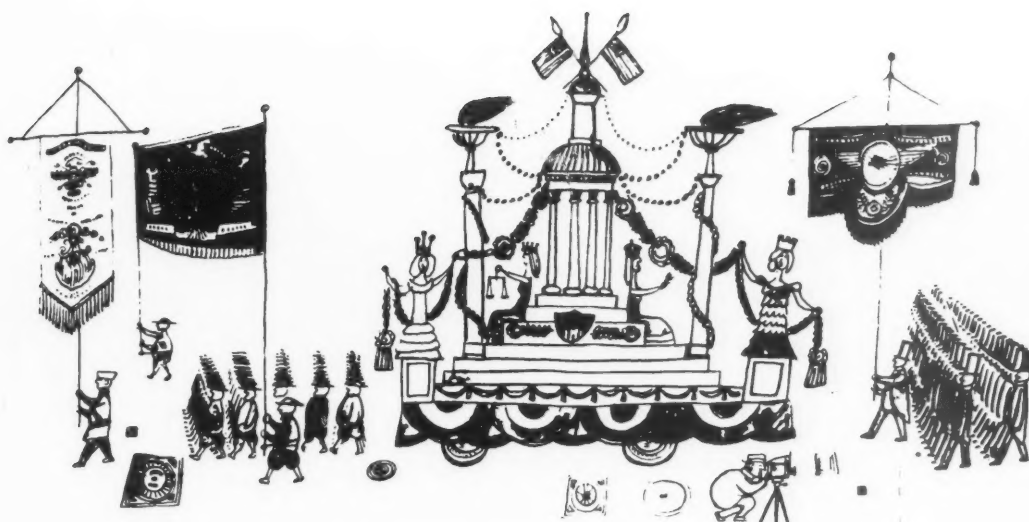
To attempt systematic studies of major problems in journalism, drawing not only upon published sources but upon new research and upon correspondents here and abroad, including many of the School's alumni active in the profession.

To recognize that others (like *Nieman Reports*, *Journalism Quarterly*, the *Saturday Review* and, in some ways, trade publications like *Editor & Publisher* and *Broadcasting*) have been doing part of the job and to acknowledge their work in the *Review's* pages.

As a division of a large private university and as an institution that has mediated between the academic world and journalism for nearly fifty years, the School is committed to no single interest beyond its belief in good journalism and graduate education for journalism. The School has tried to prepare more than 2,500 graduates for careers in journalism. Now it believes it is time to try to assess the field they have entered.

No single issue of this publication will satisfy all the editors' standards—least of all this first pilot effort. But the *Review* will try to emulate all sincere journalism by coming as near the whole truth as possible.

(Reprinted from the pilot issue of *Columbia Journalism Review*)



From Steinberg's *The Passport* (Harper)
© 1954 by Saul Steinberg

WASHINGTON 1962

The *Review* presents in the pages that follow an extensive report on news and news-gathering in the capital. Although the Washington corps of correspondents and its activities are already among the most talked-about subjects in journalism, much remains to be said.

For one thing, the corps has completed its first year of coexistence with a new administration; the time is appropriate for a description of what happened. It is also twenty-five years since the corps itself—although much discussed—has been analyzed sociologically.

The *Review*, therefore, has compiled a three-part report:

1. The correspondents. A new study, patterned on Leo Rosten's classic of 1937, *The Washington*

Correspondents, re-examines the press corps and adds information on the growing numbers of broadcast and magazine correspondents.

2. The sources of news. The *Review* asked a group of men working in Washington — a sample chosen for its articulateness, not its statistical balance — to comment on issues in the relations of journalism and the government raised during the first Kennedy year.

3. The public. This portion of the report represents only a beginning of the analysis that needs to be done of the quality and quantity of Washington news that reaches readers and viewers. It is a *Review* staff study of a few American newspapers and their Washington coverage on given days in the fall of 1961.

The correspondents after 25 years

*It has been said that most scholarly research is superseded within twenty years. By that criterion, Leo Rosten's *The Washington Correspondents* has held up remarkably well. Still, a quarter of a century has brought major changes in the capital press corps. A broad new study of its composition was needed — and has been done. The author, who was twelve years old when Rosten's study was published, did much of his research while working in Washington as a correspondent for *The Reporter* magazine and earning a Ph.D. in political science at American University. Before that, he worked on newspapers in Louisiana and Florida and contributed articles to many magazines. He is now an associate professor of journalism at the University of Texas and is completing a book that grew from his dissertation, "*The Washington Correspondents and Government Information*."*

By WILLIAM L. RIVERS

When Leo Rosten's *The Washington Correspondents* was published, Edward Angly threw the author an acid salute. "At last," Angly wrote, "someone has come along who takes the Washington correspondents as seriously as they take themselves."

It was an intriguing line — and it may have performed the useful service of deflating some puffed-up correspondents — but it is hard to imagine worse timing. If Rosten's book had been published ten years earlier, Angly might have been justified in the slur. Before the 1930's, the correspondents were so nearly alone in considering their work important that its importance was diminished as a consequence. They were so little noticed that one suspects that the stereotype of the journalist of the 1920's — perhaps he was a composite of Walter Winchell, Richard Harding Davis, and the local police reporter — ignored the Washington press corps altogether.

It should have been obvious to everyone by 1937, however, that the Depression and the New Deal had changed American journalism as well as American

politics. For good or ill, the Washington correspondent was a man of the first importance. Rosten was simply the earliest of the social scientists to recognize the necessity for measuring political journalism.

"In a democracy," Rosten wrote, "we depend on the press for a presentation of the facts upon which our political opinions are based and the issues around which our political controversies revolve, but we know nothing of the men, the women, the problems, the devices behind the dispatches and columns which begin with the portentous date-line 'Washington, D. C.' " It seemed to Rosten that getting behind the dateline was a matter of the first significance. The fact that he succeeded may be suggested by the veteran correspondent who said, "Reading that book made us feel like we had been dissected."

Now, twenty-five years after Rosten's analysis, I am trying to update it. Inevitably, there are differences in the two studies. Newspapermen and wire-service reporters dominated the Washington press corps in the 1930's and Rosten limited his investigations to them. Today, the radio, television, and mag-

azine correspondents are quite as important, and they are included in my study. In part for this reason, and in part because of the growth of the press corps, my sample is larger than his, 273 to 127. (In both studies, the "official" lists of correspondents — all of which were misleading — were sifted to eliminate those who did not actually work as Washington correspondents. My figure for the total number of bona-fide correspondents is 634, not the 1,300 usually cited.) In most significant respects, however the studies are similar. The same techniques — primarily interviews and questionnaires — were used in both, and many of the same questions were asked. And, perhaps most important, the motivation of both studies was the same: to discover the facts about an institution of American democracy.

Of all the changes in the Washington press corps during the past twenty-five years, none is more significant than a new sense of freedom from the prejudices of the home office. Rosten measured the degree of freedom to report objectively by including in his questionnaire a battery of statements that had been made by correspondents during interviews. One read: "My orders are to be objective, but I *know* how my paper wants stories played." Slightly more than 60 per cent of the correspondents of the 1930's replied "Yes" to this, indicating that they felt subtle pressure. Today, only 9.5 per cent reply "Yes" to the same statement.

This difference is so marked that one may immediately suspect that there was a misunderstanding or mistake. However, another statement that also tested freedom from home-office pressure drew a similar response. Rosten asked the correspondents whether this could be said of their work: "In my experience I've had stories played down, cut, or killed for 'policy' reasons." Slightly more than 55 per cent of the correspondents of the 1930's answered "Yes." Today, only 7.3 per cent answer "Yes" to the same statement.

This is not necessarily a record in which the press can take complete pride. After all, nearly 10 per cent of the Washington correspondents will admit that they feel subtle pressure; more than 7 per cent will admit that they have been subject to direct retaliation. The change to these figures from 60 per cent and 55 per cent, however, is an improvement so startling that it demands explanation.

A veteran correspondent explains it by pointing out that the political issues are not nearly so clear-cut today as they were in the 1930's: "You'd have to

have been around in the Thirties to understand the difference. The publishers didn't just disagree with the New Deal. They *hated* it. And the reporters, who liked it, had to write as though they hated it, too." According to this correspondent and others, the passing of the publisher-tyrants — the William Randolph Hearsts and the Robert R. McCormicks — has changed political journalism. "The day when a publisher would order his Washington bureau to beat a bill with news stories is just about gone," he said.

This is not to say that the newspaper publishers and their correspondents now have the same political stance. In 1960, 57 per cent of the daily newspapers reporting to the *Editor & Publisher* poll supported Nixon, and 16 per cent supported Kennedy. In contrast, there are more than three times as many Democrats as there are Republicans among the Washington newspaper correspondents; slightly more than 32 per cent are Democrats, and fewer than 10 per cent are Republicans. About half of the newspaper correspondents today call themselves "Independents," but it is notable that the newspaper correspondents, like the rest of the Washington press corps, are predominantly liberal. More than 55 per cent of the correspondents for newspapers consider themselves liberals; 26.9 per cent consider themselves conservatives.

There is very little difference politically between the newspaper correspondents and the correspondents for radio and television, wire services, and magazines. There are nearly four times as many Democrats as Republicans among the radio-television correspondents, nearly four times as many Democrats as Republicans among the wire-service correspondents, and nearly twice as many Democrats as Republicans among the magazine correspondents. In the entire Washington press corps, liberals outnumber conservatives, 56.6 per cent to 27.6 per cent. (Interestingly, even though liberalism and conservatism have never been sharply defined — and the definitions that are used in Washington are subject to continuing debate — only 15.9 per cent of the correspondents described themselves as "Middle Roaders" or refused to label themselves.)

It should be obvious from all this that most of the Washington correspondents believe that their superiors do not require slanted reporting. It is worth considering, however, whether this freedom is more apparent than real, as some social scientists believe. A study by Dr. Warren Breed that was published in 1955 is often cited as evidence that political correspondence is under control. Breed, a Tulane Uni-

versity sociologist who once worked as a newspaper reporter, analyzed six factors that may tend to produce general conformity to a newspaper's policy among its staff. Most of the factors are subtle. For example, "in-groupness in the newsroom," in Breed's phrase, is that friendly, first-namish atmosphere in which staffers and executives often work together on a job they all like and respect: getting the news. Although Breed's study was limited to newspaper newsrooms in the home office, the same atmosphere — and the same united effort of executives and staffers — can be observed in offices of mass media in Washington. Can part of the reduction in home-office pressure be explained by the possibility that social controls have brought correspondents' reports more in line with superiors' policies?

This is certainly possible. It seems likely, however, that even the subtlest of these effects can be detected, especially by the correspondents today. For one of the most striking aspects of the Washington press corps is the level of formal education that most of the correspondents have reached. The Washington correspondent today was probably sitting in a sociology class not many years ago, and he may even have written a scholarly paper on social controls.

The rising level of education for all Americans leads one to expect that the Washington correspondents today would indeed have more formal education than those of the 1930's. But the difference is greater than the changing times indicate. Even in this Age of Education, only one person in three of college age actually undertakes higher learning, and nearly half of those who enroll in College never earn a degree. Today, slightly more than 81 per cent of the Washington correspondents have college degrees (51 per cent in the 1930's). More than 93 per cent have attended college (79 per cent in the 1930's). More than 31 per cent have done graduate work (12 per cent in the 1930's), and nearly 20 per cent have earned graduate degrees (6 per cent in the 1930's).

The sociological composition of the Washington press corps has changed in other respects since the 1930's, in ways that alter the folklore of American journalism. Folklore held that leading reporters usually come from the Midwest — especially from Indiana — and Rosten's findings supported it. Indiana, with more than 10 per cent of the correspondents of the 1930's, and Illinois, with more than 9 per cent, were the leading states of birth; the Midwest as a whole contributed more than 45 per cent. Today, Indiana and Illinois are far down the list and the whole Midwest contributes only 30 per cent

of the correspondents. New York and Pennsylvania are now the leading states, and the Northeast is the leading region.

Another stereotype in the folklore of journalism, the impecunious reporter, also fails to hold up in Washington. It is perfectly true that Washington is a high-cost city, that few correspondents are likely to compile fortunes, and that many of them can complain justifiably that the man at the top of his profession should make more money. Nevertheless, by journalistic standards the Washington press corps is an affluent society. Only 2.6 per cent of the Washington correspondents are paid less than \$6,000 a year. More than 9 per cent are paid more than \$20,000. The median salary for all correspondents is \$11,579, or \$4,500 better than the national average for reporters, as determined in a 1960 study by the Associated Press Managing Editors, and more than double the median family income in the United States.

The radio-television correspondents are the best paid. Their median salary is \$15,799, followed by the magazine correspondents (\$13,299), the newspaper correspondents (\$11,319), and the wire-service correspondents (\$10,139).

Inflation makes highly suspect an exact comparison of the salaries today with those of the 1930's. The fact that the salaries now are more than double those of the 1930's is not altogether meaningful. In current dollars, the \$5,400 median salary of 1937 would equal \$11,055 today, or only slightly less than the current median.

Only in recent years have social researchers begun to define elite groups in American society. Rosten did not try to define an elite among the correspondents of the 1930's. He did, however, recognize the significance of the newspapers that the correspondents themselves read regularly and considered fairest and most reliable. Rosten also questioned the correspondents about the magazines they read regularly and the newspaper columnists they considered the fairest and most reliable.

On the theory that it might now be possible to define an elite within the corps of correspondents, I tried to determine which individuals, publications, and radio and television programs were most used and respected by the correspondents.

The first question ran: Which three newspapers (other than your own) do you rely upon most often in your work? It is obvious that the Washington correspondents, like most people, will read the newspapers that are available in the cities where they

live and work. This is especially true of Washington. The answers (see table on page 8) show that correspondents read and rely heavily on two of the three local dailies, the *Post* and the *Star*.

The most striking aspect of this section of the study, however, is the continuing dominance of *The New York Times*. A total of 225 of the 273 correspondents listed it. The most obvious explanation of the reliance upon the *Times* is the attention that it gives to national and international affairs. Not only does Washington news dominate many of the pages of the *Times*, but the paper maintains a Washington bureau that is by far the largest of any single newspaper.

The list of twenty-one papers correspondents mentioned is a short one in view of the fact that more than 1,750 dailies are published in the United States. Since the nine leaders are all published in the eastern section of the country and almost all of them are morning papers, it can be argued that geography and time are important factors. This is certainly true. It is also true that many other metropolitan newspapers are flown to Washington and are available only a few hours after publication.

Another dimension of the elite character of some newspapers is shown in the answers to the second question: Which are the three fairest and most reliable newspapers? Again *The New York Times* was dominant, but more significant are the shifts of position in the responses to the two questions, with the *Washington Star*, the *Baltimore Sun*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* all moving up.

The differences in the two lists are not necessarily odd. Nor should the changes from one list to another suggest that the correspondents are relying on papers they do not trust. A correspondent may, for example, rely upon three newspapers and think well of their fairness and reliability, but decide that three others that he does not consider as useful rank ahead of them in judgments of fairness and reliability. It should nonetheless be obvious that a newspaper that has been used by a correspondent has had a full opportunity to prove to him that it should be given the highest marks for fairness and reliability.

It is not surprising that the three general news magazines — *Time*, *U.S. News & World Report*, and *Newsweek* — rank at the top of the list of periodicals the correspondents rely upon in their work. They appear every week, and they are made up in large part of reports on national and international affairs. But it is surprising that even as a group the

general news magazines do not dominate this list (see table) as the *Times* dominates the newspaper list.

The reason for the comparatively small reliance on the news magazines may become clear in the judgments of their fairness and reliability. So many of the correspondents had mentioned during interviews that none of the news magazines could be trusted that it was decided to split these publications off from the other periodicals and try to determine which, if any, were considered trustworthy. The correspondents were asked to name the *one* news magazine they considered the fairest and most reliable.

It was a revealing exercise. Not only did 24.1 per cent of the correspondents fail to list any news magazine, but 16.9 per cent wrote "None" and some of them decorated the margins of the questionnaire with such comments as "Are you kidding?" and "No such animal." *Newsweek*, with 75 votes, led the list. It was followed by *U.S. News & World Report*, with 66. *Time*, which had been first on the "relied upon" list, received only nine votes for fairness and reliability. In addition, several correspondents listed publications that are not considered news magazines.

It should be mentioned that there is nothing necessarily strange about relying upon a news magazine without trusting it. A magazine, as well as a newspaper, can provide leads to stories.

The case of *Time*, however, offers a special insight into the Washington press corps. *Time* is widely read by the correspondents, it seems clear, because of its crisp cleverness. Two of the correspondents who wrote "None" in the space available for listing the fairest and most reliable news magazine added, "But *Time's* the only one worth reading," and "*Time* has the only literate writers." One correspondent who dislikes *Time* intensely confessed that he could not bear to miss an issue. He paid for a subscription to it, then discovered that he could get each issue a day earlier by buying it at a newsstand. Unable to wait for his subscription copy, he began picking it up at the newsstand. "Then," he said, "I cuss my way through it."

Many of the correspondents also balked at judging the fairness and reliability of the magazines of politics and opinion. Thirty-four per cent did not list a magazine in that category, and nearly 15 per cent wrote "None." Considering the number who wrote in comments like "These magazines deal in *opinion*" and "These aren't supposed to be objective," it is clear that many of the correspondents do not consider it possible for magazines of opinion to be fair and reliable. Of those who did offer judg-

Capital reporters' opinions on journalism

1937

1962

Newspapers read regularly

(Number answering)

(110)

New York Times	90.0%
Washington Post	83.6%
Washington Star	78.1%
Washington Daily News	68.1%
New York Herald Tribune	65.4%
Baltimore Sun	63.6%
Washington Herald*	51.8%
Washington Times*	34.5%
Wall Street Journal	6.3%
Chicago Tribune	4.5%

Newspapers: fair, reliable

(99)

New York Times	89.9%
Baltimore Sun	48.5%
Christian Science Monitor	17.2%
Scripps-Howard Newspapers	15.2%
St. Louis Post-Dispatch	18.2%
New York Herald Tribune	17.2%
Washington Star	14.1%
Kansas City Star	7.1%
Washington Post	5.1%
Philadelphia Record*	5.1%

Magazines read regularly

(97)

Time	58.7%
The Nation	34.1%
Harper's	34.1%
Saturday Evening Post	34.1%
Collier's*	28.8%
The New Republic	26.8%
The New Yorker	24.7%
The Atlantic Monthly	19.5%
Fortune	18.5%
Reader's Digest	16.4%

Columnists: fair, reliable

(77)

Raymond Clapper*	32.5%
Paul Mallon*	16.9%
Walter Lippmann	11.7%
Arthur Krock	9.1%
Robert S. Allen-Drew Pearson	6.5%
Heywood Brown*	6.5%
"What's the News" (Wall Street Journal)	3.9%
John T. Flynn	2.6%

*Deceased

Newspapers used in work

(Number answering)

(257)

New York Times	87.5%
Washington Post	69.6%
Washington Star	47.1%
Wall Street Journal	33.1%
Baltimore Sun	13.7%
New York Herald Tribune	9.7%
Washington News	5.1%
Christian Science Monitor	3.1%
Journal of Commerce	1.9%
The Guardian	1.6%

Newspapers: fair, reliable

(247)

New York Times	90.7%
Washington Star	33.2%
Baltimore Sun	31.6%
Christian Science Monitor	27.1%
St. Louis Post-Dispatch	24.7%
Wall Street Journal	17.8%
Washington Post	15.4%
New York Herald Tribune	6.5%
Milwaukee Journal	4.9%
Louisville Courier-Journal	4.5%

Magazines used in work

(203)

Time	33.5%
U.S. News & World Report	33.0%
Newsweek	32.5%
The Reporter	24.6%
Government publications	11.3%
Harper's	11.3%
Business Week	10.8%
The Economist	7.9%
The New Republic	7.3%
Fortune	4.4%

Columnists: fair, reliable

(242)

Walter Lippmann	41.7%
Marquis Childs	8.3%
William S. White	6.2%
Roscoe Drummond	5.0%
James Reston	5.0%
Joseph Alsop	4.5%
Peter Edson	2.5%
David Lawrence	2.5%
James Marlow	2.1%
None	11.2%

ments, however, a majority — ninety — listed *The Reporter*. *The New Republic* was second with nineteen. No other received more than seven.

A number of correspondents apparently also consider it impossible for any person who deals in opinion to be fair and reliable. Slightly more than 11 per cent failed to list a newspaper columnist as "fairest and most reliable," and nearly 10 per cent wrote in "None." It is nonetheless clear that Walter Lippmann stands highest among the columnists in judgments of fairness and reliability. He received 10 votes (see table) and no other columnist was even close. There is a question, however, about the standing of James Reston of *The New York Times*, who may not have been given his due because of confusion. Reston, who tied with Roscoe Drummond for fourth place; also works as a reporter and as bureau chief.

Like newspaper columnists, radio and television newscasters and commentators are considered by some of the correspondents not to be judged in terms of fairness and reliability. This became apparent in comments made during interviews, and it was borne out later in written responses. Nearly 25 per cent of the correspondents listed no commentator as "fairest and most reliable;" nearly 17 per cent wrote "None."

It is nonetheless clear that a definable group of commentators stands high among the Washington correspondents. It is a group that CBS should ponder, for only one of the four, David Brinkley of NBC, is still working at the kind of reporting that gave him his standing among the correspondents. Eric Sevareid, of CBS, who was in first place with nearly 17 per cent of the votes, is no longer reporting from Washington. Edward R. Murrow, who was second, left CBS shortly after the poll was taken. Brinkley was third. Then came Howard K. Smith, who quit CBS in 1961 in a policy dispute and is now with ABC. The ten leaders are listed at right.

Murrow, Daly, Huntley, and Edwards probably stood higher than the figures indicate. Although all of them report on politics, some of the correspondents undoubtedly failed to list them because they were not, at the time of the poll, working as Washington correspondents.

There are many important facets of life and work in the Washington press corps that cannot be analyzed statistically. Impressions gathered during three years of work and observation in Washington may help to round out the picture.

Accuracy? Some of the correspondents will admit that it is often sacrificed at the altar of speed. "I

Correspondents rate commentators

	No. of Votes	Percentage
Eric Sevareid	46	16.8
Edward R. Murrow	36	13.1
David Brinkley	14	5.0
Howard K. Smith	13	4.8
John Daly	8	2.8
Joseph McCaffrey	6	2.2
Chet Huntley	6	2.2
Edward Morgan	6	2.2
Douglas Edwards	5	1.7
Ray Henle	3	1.1

phone in the stuff from my beat," a wire service reporter complains, "and it gets botched." A newspaper correspondent: "My editor doesn't realize how complicated Washington can be. He just wants copy." One of the leading columnists confesses, "I have to keep in mind always that if I don't get my column in, the money won't come in either."

Depth reporting? At least one Washington correspondent customarily accosts his news sources with the cub reporter's query: "Have you got any news for me today?" It is interesting, too, that when the correspondents are asked to name the Washington reporters whose work is characterized by hard-digging investigation, the list is never very long. It is true, of course, that the Washington press corps is too large to permit any one correspondent to be able to evaluate the work of all the others. The recurring five- and six-name lists of reporters who persistently investigate in depth are revealing, nonetheless. They usually include, among others, Clark Mollenhoff of the Cowles publications, Vance Trimble of Scripps-Howard, and Reston.

Perspective? Just as the home-city reporter writes about the local husband who decapitated his wife yesterday — not about the hundred thousand couples who lived happy lives — many of the Washington correspondents must focus on the flamboyant twenty-hour filibuster, not on the quietly effective ten-minute speech. Fixed ideas of what constitutes Washington news work against coverage in depth.

And yet, with all of the shortcomings, the dominant impression is one of advance over 1937. Accuracy is highly prized; the inaccurate reporter is the

exception. Even those correspondents who are hard-pressed for time occasionally report in depth. Reading the newspapers and magazines of the 1930's against those published today leaves one with a distinct feeling that analysis and interpretation of meaningful events are now providing more perspective on government.

Today, the thrust of the Washington press corps is not expressed by the correspondent whose greatest pride is that he once covered the police beat but by the correspondent who does not hesitate to use that sticky word "professionalism." It is probably significant that one almost never hears journalism re-

ferred to as a "game." Instead — at least among the younger correspondents — it is often "this profession," or "my profession." The correspondent who will say, as one did recently to a student group, "Hell, let's be honest, we're here to have as much fun as we can," seems to be disappearing.

One striking evidence of seriousness and purpose in the Washington press corps is reflected in Walter Lippmann's changing opinion. He sees a profound improvement in political journalism. The difference is so great that he no longer laments, as he did in the 1920's, that journalism is only a "refuge for the vaguely talented."

Acquired characteristics

From An American in Washington (Knopf, 1961), by Russell Baker of The New York Times:

... The myth that the White House is a glamorous beat impels the men who work it to behave as they conceive glamorous reporters must. Other beats imprint their personalities just as indelibly. The State Department reporter quickly learns to talk like a fuddy-duddy and to look grave, important, and inscrutable. The Pentagon man always seems to have just come in off maneuvers. The Capitol reporter eschews the raucous spirit of the White House and affects the hooded expression of the man privy to many important deals. Like the politicians he covers, he tends to garrulity, coarse jokes, and bourbon and learns to hate reform. The Treasury man dismisses as dubious all that cannot be statistically proved; the labor specialist affects the blunt speech of the working stiff; the society reporter flutters and clucks; and the science specialist becomes detached and takes up pipe smoking.

At the apex of the society stand the lordly Brahmins, the high priests to whom great men look anxiously for omens of approbation or disfavor. The caste falls broadly into three orders: syndicated columnists, bureau chieftains, and network commentators. Theirs is all that remains of the tradition of personal journalism, for it is their highest prerogative, taboo to all others in the "corps," to put their own opinions before the public.

This gives them an immense advantage over their lesser colleagues. Suppose that the Secretary of Defense decides to abolish the Army because the Treasury believes it is too expensive. He will issue a press release stating that the Army is being abolished in order to improve the over-all national defense. Run-of-the-mine reporters are required by the code of their trade to report this fiction at its face value. They must write: "The Secretary of Defense announced today that the Army will be abolished to strengthen the over-all national defense." This is known in the trade as "objective reporting," and is highly revered.

The Brahmins are confounded by no such nonsense. One may write: "The Secretary of Defense stooped to a new low in hypocrisy in his flimsy attempt to justify abolishing the Army. In fact, this decision was dictated by the big banking interests, which are now running the Treasury and are willing to imperil the national security to get tax reductions this year." . . .

Thus another debate is under way, with the Brahmins in the vanguard. Obviously Brahmins are important to the government. They may be deadly to the man they oppose en masse. Fortunately for Presidents, congressmen, Cabinet, *et al.*, the caste is riven with jealousies and diversity of view, guaranteeing that they will rarely stand en bloc on any issue of public policy.

Still, the canny officeholder works to please them. When the lowly reporter comes calling, the great man may have a flunky reroute him to the "public information office." When the Brahman knocks, the statesman is all teeth and charm. The reporter is a tool to be used when convenient or a nuisance to be brushed aside when he bars the path. The Brahman is a man to be had to tea or dinner or a weekend under sail.

WASHINGTON II:

News under Kennedy

Reporting in the first year

Throughout its 160-year history, Washington coverage has had a constant theme: the relation, or entanglement, of government and press. Even in the days when the federal government had but a shadow of the powers it wields today, the subject was touched with a special concern rising from American distrust of political power, the credo of freedom of the press, and, most of all, the fact that the American press is by tradition primarily political and governmental in content. Over the years, it has been impossible to discuss Washington as merely another source of news. As Frederic W. Collins, a long-time correspondent, puts it: "One proposition I will defend with my life is that Washington is not simply an elaborate extension of a police beat."

The press-government relationship has of course fluctuated over the years. Long ago, it was often assumed that a capital correspondent or editor was a paid agent of a faction. Much later, there was an equally strong assumption that press and government were deadly enemies — the former representing the people; the latter, its own interests.

The latest turn has been a more scholarly consideration of the subject, which, as much scholarship does, absorbs several previous views. In this synthesis, correspondents today are neither paid agents nor, necessarily, the sworn enemies of all officeholders. They are considered, in the phrase Douglass Cater of *The Reporter* adapted from Edmund Burke's much older term, "the fourth branch of government" — the communicating arm necessary to the use of national political power but not under the supervision of government. Washington reporters are at the same time independent and auxiliary.

Along the narrow line that separates independence from involvement are fought most of the clashes

between the press and any administration. Historians of the New Deal have given great weight to the role Washington correspondents played in gaining acceptance for administration programs. The cold-war period has added persistent, troubled impingements of security upon revelation.

During 1961, Washington reporters not only had to make the adjustment to the operating changes of a new administration, but they were presented with the older questions of their relations with the national government in intensified form. Near the end of the year, the editors of the *Review* asked a group of men working in Washington for their observations on the ways these problems had developed in the Kennedy administration.

Fourteen of seventeen men who were invited responded. They include several whose Washington experience dates back to the Hoover administration and two relative newcomers. They represent wire services, newspapers, magazines, syndicates, and broadcasting. One is a foreign correspondent from England; one is a representative of the sizable number of reporters who have accepted jobs in the administration. Twelve agreed to have their remarks attributed; two preferred to remain anonymous, and one of these unquoted.

The group was asked to comment on seven statements made during 1961 purporting to describe the state of newsgathering in Washington. The answers were revealing — not only of the reporters' relations with the administration, but of the attitudes that shape the reporters' work. Although there were varying opinions on each of the issues, the following generalizations can be made:

1. The Kennedy administration's information policies have had hot and chill periods, but seem to be

The new rule: no rules

From James Reston's column in *The New York Times*, November 29, 1961:

In his dealings with the press, President Kennedy has broken every rule in the book and got away with it. . . .

When he came into the White House, he was warned by his newspaper friends about all the wicked ways of the press, particularly their jealousy and their hostility toward anyone who gives special advantages to any individual reporter.

The President indicated how seriously he took this warning at the very beginning of his Administration. After his Inaugural Ball, he suddenly showed up at Joseph Alsop's house. . . .

A few days later he drove around to Walter Lippmann's house for a talk, went to dinner at the home of Rowland Evans of the *New York Herald Tribune* and later had his old friend Charles Bartlett of *The Chattanooga Times* up to Hyannis Port for the week-end.

When some of the President's associates asked the President whether this was wise, he took the original view that reporters were also members of the Human Race, and added that he proposed to see anybody he liked and even some reporters he didn't like.

And so he has. He has not only allowed columnists to see him privately but has permitted them to publish his remarks. He has given television interviews on some networks and not on others. He has been the darling and collaborator of all budding biographers. He has started a round of luncheons with editors from the various states, authorized live television broadcasting of his news conferences, received foreign correspondents and their editors regularly, and permitted photographers to photograph his wife, not only in her latest gown and hair-do, but in slacks and even falling off a horse.

All this is new only in terms of the last generation. A hundred years ago, when the press corps was small and Washington was a sleepy little malaria-ridden Southern city, reporters camped out in the White House as cronies and advisers. Kennedy has not gone that far, but as he told an audience at a party there the other night, "It's hard not to get invited to the White House these days." . . .

There are, of course, many here who argue that this exploitation of modern mass communications unbalances the political system. There are others who think the high society around the White House is a little Frenchy, and maybe even frivolous in such serious times. But as a political instrument the new accessibility . . . is undoubtedly effective.

moving to a lukewarm basis with information available if it is demanded. Policy varies greatly from agency to agency. (This variation was confirmed, incidentally, in an *Editor & Publisher* poll of correspondents on November 18, 1961, that showed reporters generally pleased with the handling of press relations by the State Department but divided in their opinions of the White House, the Pentagon, and the Justice Department.)

Several correspondents note that they believe the government deliberately tried to mislead them on two major events of the year: In one instance, the State Department tried to claim the Cuban invasion as a triumph for inter-American solidarity; in the other, it put forth the idea that the wall across Berlin was a resounding defeat for the Communists. The correspondents who mentioned the cases did not, and do not, agree with these evaluations.

2. Administration officials as a rule have talked volubly to correspondents, but the quotient of information has sometimes been low — particularly when uncertainties in foreign policy made officials confine themselves to generalities.

Paul W. Ward, of the *Baltimore Sun*, noted a particular flavor that has come to sessions with officials of academic background. He writes: "They are having trouble adjusting to the facts that (1) journalists are free agents, not students in their classes; (2) their own pronouncements are not so politely received as they were in Academia; and (3) reducing a problem to the shape of a university lecture, or thesis, is not equivalent to solving it in the governmental sense.

"Some members of the Washington press corps — men who looked forward to an influx of 'eggheads' (as I did, too) — have turned sour on finding that the professors tend to bring their classroom habits along with that talent for jealous conspiring, one against the other, that makes faculty life less than irenic in many institutions."

3. Contacts between individual correspondents and individual officials have increased, with retaliation and criticism on occasion the response to unfavorable stories. The correspondents say that such feeding-back has no real effect and may eventually be abandoned. Several expressed gratification that the President, unlike his predecessor, reads newspapers.

4. Most agree that the administration has favorite correspondents, but to date none of these appears to have been given a major news break. The group does not feel that critical correspondents have been shut off from news sources. As one remarked: "When officials discover that the reporter who was 'for' the

administration on Tuesday is 'against' it on Thursday, they relax."

The correspondents also expressed opinions on their own work:

1. They regard the perennial devices for imparting news — the press conference, the background briefing, and the "leak" — dispassionately, as tools of their work.

More than one notes the cyclical nature of "leaks," and the finding of the Moss subcommittee on government information that (as one correspondent described it) "most 'secret' military information is leaked between the first week in January and the last week in June — the period when Congress is considering appropriations and each agency is passing out carefully selected information to make itself look good. The majority of such 'secrets' appear in *The New York Times*, the *New York Herald Tribune*, and *Life*, because these are the handiest conveyor belts to public opinion."

2. They believe that Washington coverage is not everything it could be, and present a variety of ways to improve it. More trained manpower, more earnest reporting, less compartmentalization of coverage are suggested.

On the last point, Collins predicted with apprehension what he believed would happen to the story of attempts to revise United States trade policy during 1962: "When the story moves from the State Department and the White House to Congress, the men covering the State Department and the White House who have steeped themselves in the subject, read all the texts, followed developments for years, will be left downtown, and the story will be covered by men who know Congressmen and politics. This is precisely the wrong way to do it. You know the argument for doing it this way? The beat man's feelings would be hurt if a man from another beat moved in on him."

3. Several expressed dislike of some of the effects of competition for news in Washington — particularly those situations that allow an official to play off one correspondent against another or those cases that result in artificial inflation of stories.

Paul Ward is most outspoken on the subject of "merchandising" the news. He writes:

"There is only one remedy for all of this. It lies in having editors who know their function, who do not let themselves become preoccupied with the mechanics of make-up, and who can spot a phony story with certainty. There aren't many such, and in proof I recall a period in Washington not many years back when one agency discovered that editors were suckers

When the President strained his back:



"This is Dr. Salinger — Dr. Hagerty has retired from practice."

Bill Mauldin, June 23, 1961, © St. Louis Post-Dispatch

for 'copyrighted' stories. First that agency, then all its competitors, began using 'copyright' lines to give authority to stories that had none otherwise."

Although the correspondents cannot be considered unfriendly to the administration, this group does not appear to be at all softhearted in its appraisals of its business with it. One gathers, in fact, that the relations that did not change in the transition of January 20 are more important than those that did.

Presumably because it is part of their daily work, the correspondents also have a down-to-earth view on the lofty question of freedom of information. Several stay close to the traditional position that government officials are the natural enemies of the press — not because officials are conspiring against the people, but because they are interested in having only good news about themselves printed.

Yet the correspondents' view does not appear to be entirely pragmatic. An indication of its instinctively American basis is the fact that the one British correspondent in the survey takes a much more easygoing view of officials and the issue of freedom of information. Among the Americans, however, there is some questioning of the freedom of information campaigns conducted by professional societies.

(On the pages following are selections from the comments on the chosen issues. The views of each man are arranged in a column; the group's views on a subject can be read horizontally.)

RESPONDENT A. Chief of a large bureau.

THE ISSUES

"The reaction of the new officials of the Kennedy administration, as they faced the military-security information problems which have plagued democratic government since its inception, appeared to be confusion at first, followed by a desire to hide the ugly facts on international life from the American public, and finally developing into a firm resolve to protect the people's right to know both the good and the bad." Committee on Government Operations, 11th Report, Availability of Information from Federal Departments and Agencies, September 22.

"We've been filibustered in the new administration. Officials talk you to death on things you already know." Stewart Hensley, United Press International, in News Workshop, New York University, May.

"In my few months in Washington I have seen scores of instances where newsmen have printed material, ostensibly to inform the public, when those newsmen realized that they had only part of the story. They were misinforming the public — and put in different shoes they would be among the first to concede that the public need not know that particular story." Carl T. Rowan, quoted in Editor & Publisher, October 7.

"... even while serving their own interests, newspapermen nonetheless make a large contribution to the purposes of government officials by the way in which they dutifully report material that comes to them via so-called 'leaks'." Francis E. Rourke, Secrecy and Publicity (The Johns Hopkins Press).

"In Administration quarters reporters are classified 'for' and 'against'. A newsman considered hostile often finds himself scratching for crumbs." Representative William E. Miller, in Editor & Publisher, October 7.

"Across the Kennedy Administration there were a number of little developments that indicated an extreme sensitivity to press criticism." Clark Mollenhoff in ASNE Bulletin, September 1.

"Let's face it — this town isn't really being covered because we don't have enough manpower ... and because correspondents are accepting handouts instead of really digging in the tradition of men like Paul Y. Anderson." A Washington correspondent.

RIGHT TO KNOW

The committee's statement is opinion by political appointees of a Democratically controlled committee and worth just that. To date, information policies of the Kennedy administration appear to turn on the personality and attitude of the administration official concerned. The same was true of previous administrations.

FILIBUSTER

This personal estimate doubtless is directed to formal news conferences and has merit. The reporter can take charge of or terminate a private interview.

MISINFORMATION

If news were not reported until the whole story was in hand, there would be no news — only post-mortems. It is vital to report available news; otherwise the whole story — eventually told by historians — will never come out.

LEAKS

Reporters seek information. Whether it comes from a presidential press conference or from a single source whom Mr. Rourke might consider a leak is immaterial. The necessity is to tap every available source for information on any news situation.

SENSITIVITY

Representative Miller's statement is partisan criticism by a layman and needs concrete examples before meriting serious consideration.

COVERAGE

This respondent feels that Washington is being covered now more accurately and intelligently than ever before. Every news outfit in Washington could use more men. But today's reporters are better equipped and are doing a better job than was done in the Thirties. The extra digging is still a crying need.

BEN H. BAGDIKIAN. Chief Washington correspondent, *The Providence Journal* and *The Evening Bulletin*. John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fellow, 1961.

RIGHT TO KNOW

In the early days, the liveliest news from many agencies was juicy items from predecessors' files; the administration was an open book. As the administration evolved its own policy it followed the human pattern of trying to manage the news to help itself politically at home and at the same time to manage it to help the country abroad. The deeper the foreign crisis, the harder it was for everyone (bureaucrat and reporter) to separate the two motivations. I'm not sure about the present "firm resolve." But whatever resolve there is was stimulated by the press, or the government's anticipation of press demands.

FILIBUSTER

At first, the administration's briefings tended to be generalized, inspirational, or historical. After Cuba, a change set in. Crises in policy made it more difficult for administration people to speak easily of problems. Individuals within the Establishment either became inaccessible or else they privately aired their differences with official policy. The filibuster of winter turned by autumn into a few austere words.

MISINFORMATION

There are very few stories in a lifetime about which a newspaperman can safely say "the public need not know that particular story." There are too many instances in which the public should have known more, not less. Either we believe in the advantages — and accept the risks — of an open society or we don't.

LEAKS

An important consideration in readiness to use leaked information is the fear of competition. If Correspondent A uses a "leak" unaltered and in a spectacular way, the managing editor of Correspondent B is not likely to be pleased with the knowledge that his man had the same information and didn't use it. Unless home offices support a policy of care, officials find it easy to play correspondents against each other.

SENSITIVITY

Possibly Representative Miller was thinking of such personal friends of the President as Joseph Alsop, Charles Bartlett, and Rowland Evans, Jr. Occasionally, the stories of these men have shown the sureness of inside impressions, but none has scored an important hard news beat. One assumes that eventually such close personal relationships will produce their own limitations, since there is a point at which a man cannot be uncritically loyal to an important source and to his readers as well.

COVERAGE

It is quite likely that no truly complete coverage of Washington is possible. While it is hard to draw any line, it is safe to say that present coverage is in no way adequate. When one wire-service reporter has to cover several agencies plus assorted hearings, government is not being covered adequately.

MARQUIS W. CHILDS. Chief of bureau, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*; column syndicated by United Features. With *Post-Dispatch* since 1926. Author: *Eisenhower: Captive Hero* (1958) and *The Peacemakers* (1961).

RIGHT TO KNOW

The Moss committee's statement is a great oversimplification. Certainly there has been confusion and Cuba was a conspicuous example, with the press blamed for faults that were really not those of the press. Things have improved since.

FILIBUSTER

The alleged filibustering of the new administration is in fact not very new. Perhaps the Kennedy administration is somewhat more prone to it than others in the recent past. One reason for this may be the great areas of uncertainty in foreign policy in a time of grave peril. The result, it is true, has been an awful lot of boring and repetitious talk.

MISINFORMATION

Often for a variety of reasons it is impossible to print more than "part of the story." But publishing a part may help to bring out all of the story later. There are, of course, certain instances when not even part of the story should be published. In peacetime this might apply to disclosure of the official fallback position of the United States in a major negotiation over Berlin. But this is extremely rare and I know of no recent instance.

LEAKS

The "leak" has its uses from the point of view of the press, but in my opinion it has become an increasingly dubious practice, with officials using it to say things they would not dare to say otherwise and which they do not intend to stand by if the reaction is not favorable. We have all been guilty of encouraging this practice and I think it has gone much too far.

SENSITIVITY

President Eisenhower scarcely looked at the newspapers and often more or less openly expressed his contempt for what they had to say. President Kennedy is too concerned, in my opinion, about what his critics in the press and on the air say. Reporters are often reproached for what some administration figure feels was a critical comment, but I am not at all sure that Representative Miller's conclusion follows from this. In fact, criticism has sometimes led to rewards that may be handed out in hope of better treatment from the reporter.

COVERAGE

I agree in general with the conclusion that Washington is not being covered adequately — particularly on the score of manpower. On handouts, I have some doubts. The whole channeling of the news has become so big, so complex, and so frequently highly technical, that in the last resort the hard pressed correspondent falls back on simply quoting what is passed out to him.

FREDERIC W. COLLINS. Correspondent, *The Providence Journal* and *The Evening Bulletin*, from 1942 and chief of bureau from 1944 until retirement, 1960. Now independent Washington correspondent.

RIGHT TO KNOW

I believe that the initial confusion was about how to carry out an intent to inform the public in the fullest safe measure. I do not think there was any desire to hide the "ugly facts of international life." I am not quite so ingenuous as to think that any administration forms a "firm resolve to protect the people's right to know," but I'm satisfied that this one at least intellectually concedes the principle.

FILIBUSTER

The stepped-up program of backgrounders the State Department initiated was less than a complete success. The fifth time that Chester Bowles took us down the Mekong River with gun and camera it was made quite clear to him that he needed new material. Perhaps part of the trouble is that many things newspapermen already know have burst upon new officials as new information. If they are still filibustering when they get around to creating history on their own hook, then it will be time to complain.

MISINFORMATION

I'll make the arbitrary judgment that Rowan is saying a reporter should not move a story until he has the last "t" crossed. This is malarkey. There are plenty of technical devices for indicating the existence of gaps. If the gap is important, the story is important, which means that the reporter has another day and another paper in which to fill the gap. I would worry if the whole story never got told, but it doesn't bother me to have it come out in fractions.

LEAKS

The comment seems to assume that a "leak" begins and ends with one official's feeding one story to one reporter — that the one story goes into history as the sole exhibit. It really isn't like that at all. At the very least, when one reporter gets a story of this sort, the reflexive result is an all-out effort by the competition to knock it down. From this ignoble level a process of challenge occurs all the way up to the point where it is ultimately tested by criteria of public interest.

SENSITIVITY

Reporters are classified "for" and "against." It was true in every administration back to Franklin Roosevelt's. I don't think this situation reduces anyone to "scratching for crumbs." This kind of discrimination, when it occurs, usually involves ideas, not facts. If there is a fact the administration wants to hide, it is easier to hide it from friend and enemy.

COVERAGE

The most nauseating myth extant about the press corps is that its members spend their time accepting handouts instead of "really digging," whatever the hell that means. There is plenty of good reporting going on in this town, which might have been called "digging" back in the innocent days when a reporter sat down at his "mill" and "hammered out" a story.

JOHN M. HIGHTOWER. State Department and international affairs correspondent, *The Associated Press*, since 1944. With AP in Washington since 1936. Pulitzer Prize in 1951.

FILIBUSTER

We have been filibustered. Both Kennedy and Rusk have developed the practice of loading their news conferences with relatively trivial prepared announcements. I think we must conclude that the practice has been deliberate — a way of consuming time. I believe, however, that the practice may be on the way out.

MISINFORMATION

Many stories are written from the best information available and many of them displease officials who then cry "incomplete" or "out of context." The implication of Rowan's complaint is that a newsman should wait until a government official, presumably a press relations officer, assures him that he has the whole story. That would be nonsense.

LEAKS

A leak is not good or bad; it is a fact of life. Just like the handout, the public statement, the news conference, the background "briefing" and other devices. The point of all these devices is that through them information becomes available for publication. What is important is to make intelligent use of the leak. To put it another way: if a competent authority wishes to disclose information to a reporter, is the reporter to cast down his eyes and turn his head away in shame? Or should he take the information he can get, check it, use it to pry out further facts, and try to construct from all available sources the truest picture possible of the situation?

SENSITIVITY

The smart press relations officer at White House or State quickly learns to treat newsmen fairly. I can only assume that Pierre Salinger and his colleagues are shaking down, for my own relations with them have been practical and decent enough and while I always scratch for crumbs I have had to scratch only a little harder than usual.

COVERAGE

As to the heroic reporting of the good old days, there is, in all modesty, nothing any of us can say. Heroes traditionally exist in the past. They moved mountains, they defied gods, they went behind the handouts. I have always believed these things. Legends are useful. They give us models for the present and Olympian hopes for our own futures.

PETER LISAGOR. Washington bureau chief, *Chicago Daily News*, since 1959; *News Washington* correspondent since 1950. Nieman Fellow, 1948-1949.

RIGHT TO KNOW

No administration is anxious to expose the bad if it reflects upon administration policies unless, as in the Cuban episode, events themselves do the exposing. A distinction should be made here between what is bad about the international situation ("the ugly facts") and what is bad about actions taken by the administration. On the first count, the administration has not attempted, after initial confusion, to gloss over bleak situations. It will be interesting to see if it sticks to candor as elections approach.

FILIBUSTER

So, what else is new? Filibustering is a stock in trade of government officials everywhere — especially those undergoing an educational process of their own. The only way a reporter can cut through is by probing, "Yes, I know, but what about Laos?"

MISINFORMATION

A good deal was made of the fact that some Washington newsmen reported that the U. S. government was "considering" possible disengagement plans in central Europe. This greatly agitated the West Germans and compelled Secretary Rusk to make a statement that disengagement was not being considered in any way that would demean West Germany. It appeared that disengagement was being discussed only as part of possible broad disarmament negotiations. I grant that if this was the case the public was misinformed. But suppose that disengagement were actively contemplated. Could it be argued that the public ought not to know about it? The dilemma faced by reporters is complicated by the fact that policy emerges only from small moves, actions, decisions — sometimes out of "only part of the story." To wait for the handout would be an abdication of responsibility and vigilance.

LEAKS

Newspapermen have an obligation to label the source of material as government officials and to put it in perspective if it seems self-serving or of dubious accuracy. "Leaks" can be just as legitimate news as non-leaks; both demand responsible interpretation.

SENSITIVITY

It is the reporter who believes he belongs to a favored group who risks being compromised. He may find himself pulling his punches. Extreme sensitivity to criticism in the administration has diminished. Reporters resented it and officials found it unrewarding. Kennedy officials at least called or spoke to reporters directly. In the past officials sometimes called up publishers.

COVERAGE

Manpower is a problem, especially because the issues have become intricate, and the need for specialization has increased. However, the inclination to accept handouts instead of digging is more widespread than it should be. The handout information is often superficial and requires explanation.

CLARK R. MOLLENHOFF. Washington bureau, *Cowles Publications* since 1950; with *Des Moines Register* and *Tribune* since 1941. Pulitzer Prize, 1958.

RIGHT TO KNOW

Secretary McNamara's assertion that we should put out misinformation on defense matters was intolerable. Since then he has made a laudable policy statement that asserts the intention to protect the balance of information and security. I think we should regard it only as a self-serving declaration until he has established more of a record.

FILIBUSTER

We have been filibustered. It is true to a certain extent of any administration, and this one is particularly adept in this field. It is our job to avoid being so filibustered that we write misleading stories.

MISINFORMATION

Most of us are aware that there may be inadequate coverage because the reporter does not know his subject or because there is not room for all of the background in his newspaper. But often superficial coverage is encouraged by men in government interested in getting across a pro-administration line. Some press officials give excellent backgrounding; some are superficial; some are unavailable. Mr. Rowan would do well to put the State Department house in order before pointing his finger at the press.

LEAKS

I believe it is inevitable that there will be "leaks," and I am happy that we have them. I would dislike a situation where the lid was on so firmly that it was impossible to get opposition points of view.

SENSITIVITY

The Eisenhower "team" resented criticism. The Kennedy "team" is a tighter operation, and there is occasionally some resentment against those who are regarded as "against" the administration. Although Miller's criticism is partisan (he was silent on Eisenhower secrecy), it is fair partisan criticism. The situation seems, in fact, to have improved as a result of such criticism. I believe it helps any administration to find out that retaliation against one member of the press is an attack on all. It is encouraging that the Kennedy administration is learning.

COVERAGE

There is not enough digging in Washington. Some of this is the fault of reporters who find it easy to take handouts. And easy acceptance of self-serving declarations is the same as handout collecting. Some is the fault of publishers and editors who would rather have a routine byline story than one in depth. Many newspapers prefer slogans — and that is what they get. The wire services cannot be expected to take the lead in this. It must be done by special correspondents, and only a few bureaus have more than one or two men. Some of the larger bureaus have been reluctant to become involved in controversy, and this has also limited the digging. Still, digging is not a lost art. It would be helped if awards were given for a thorough job, not for exclusive interviews or "interpretive reporting."

EDWARD P. MORGAN. News commentator, American Broadcasting Company, since 1955. Formerly with Columbia Broadcasting System, *Collier's*, United Press.

RIGHT TO KNOW

I agree that there was confusion and a desire to hide facts, but I seriously question the "firm resolve." Where does it manifest itself? In a candid exposition of the real pros and cons of nuclear testing? In the administration's approach to civil defense?

FILIBUSTER

I have yet to meet a politician who wouldn't filibuster on a favorite subject (or stiff-arm a non-favorite one in an equal number of words). When this happens it is the reporter's job to turn him off and, if he can't be turned off, so to report the interview. The trouble is that when this happens the reporter is accused of being subjective — unless of course the interviewee belongs to the party the paper opposes.

MISINFORMATION

Though generalizations can be dangerous, what Rowan says is in general true. But it is only part of the truth. The other part is that government itself shares the blame. Defensiveness, secrecy, gobbledygook — all these are symptoms of a disease to which no administration is immune. The disease is a kind of defensive arrogance in which officials decide they "know best" what the public should be told.

LEAKS

Unhappily, reporters must plead guilty to letting themselves be used. Perhaps the offense would be less serious if, without revealing the actual source, reporters explained parenthetically that the material was what an agency wanted to give out without its taking full responsibility for it.

SENSITIVITY

Representative Miller's statement is nonsense. When he gets ready to write his memoirs, he, being a realist, will no doubt admit it. National party chairmen are expected to make such extreme statements and he does so. The fact is that any administration has its favorites and its *bêtes noires*. This does not keep an industrious reporter from burrowing into the breadbasket and coming up with a hell of a lot more than crumbs.

COVERAGE

I am not sure that more manpower is what we need but certainly digging is. With notable exceptions, which are all too few, I suspect that from the point of view of the public welfare and enlightenment the Pentagon is the most inadequately covered vital area in Washington.

DENYS SMITH. Washington correspondent, *The Daily Telegraph* of London. Author: *America and the Axis War* (1942), *Polls Apart* (1960).

RIGHT TO KNOW

The phrase, "protect the people's right to know," means presumably that officials have recognized that the wise policy is to be neither Pollyannas nor Jeremiahs, which is all to the good. But why drag in that obfuscating phrase, "right to know"? There's nothing in the Constitution about a "right" to know. In other words, the justification for impartially presenting the dark with the rosy is that it is good policy to treat people as adults, not that it is in fulfillment of some inherent right.

FILIBUSTER

The newspaperman should be fair and ask himself more often, "Who's wasting whose time?" Officials complain that some reporters don't do their homework, but expect spoon-feeding of facts they could have got from an almanac.

MISINFORMATION

The idea that any daily newspaper can tell the whole story, even leaving aside considerations of secrecy, is preposterous. The reporter fulfills his function when he gives the surface appearance of things. He is an outsider, an ignoramus, who writes about policies and advises governments with only a fraction of the knowledge those governments have. Should he have it all? Read all the cables, all the minutes? Obviously not. Any reporter who had all the relevant data dumped in his lap would drown in a sea of documents. He should be pleased that a certain selectivity is shown by officials.

LEAKS

Leaks are of two general kinds: First, there are government-approved leaks, when the government does not want to over-dignify some proposal but wants to get it out on trial. Second, there are leaks to support an individual official's plan or to weaken a policy of which he disapproves. An official offering such information of course has some motive in doing so. But reporters who did not accept it would be asses. "All leaks gratefully received" is the only sensible principle.

SENSITIVITY

The complaint about discrimination has been made since Hoover's time. With Hoover there were the "tame seals." Now you have other White House pets. This whole business of accepting preferential treatment has a built-in corrective; you make one friend at the price of a hundred foes.

COVERAGE

Washington is certainly getting sprawlier and harder to cover. But more handouts do not necessarily mean less digging. What is wrong with a handout? Is a fact you've got because you asked inherently superior to one you got from a mimeographed sheet? It's the treatment of facts that matters, the flavor you give them. Could the trouble today be not that correspondents don't dig but that they don't think?

JOHN L. STEELE. Bureau chief, *Time-Life* since 1958. Earlier, a *Time* (1953-1958) and United Press correspondent. Nieman Fellow (1951-1952), and co-author (1950) of *The Private Papers of Senator Vandenberg*.

I think there has been far too much journalistic weeping and hand-wringing, and that too often the cry of "official secrecy" has been raised by newsmen in order to cover their own deficiencies or to promote a professional cause. The availability of news — including the important factors of "why" and "how" — is neither greater nor less than in prior years. It is there, and usually all there, for reporters willing and able to expend enough energy and intelligence. The twenty-one men and women who report for *Time* and *Life* in Washington succeed, I believe, in penetrating to the core of official decision making each week. The chief difference from prior years is that the men who make the news read the news more closely and react more positively. But after all, what greater compliment can be paid a journalist than to be read?

Seeking their own level

From *The New York Times*, January 26, 1962:

White Admits Speeches Developed at 'Low Level'

WASHINGTON, Jan. 25 (AP)—Gen. Thomas D. White disclosed a personal secret today.

At a Senate hearing into charges that anti-Communist speeches by military officers are being muted by the Pentagon, General White was asked whether it was proper for low-ranking personnel to censor generals and admirals.

General White, former Air Force Chief of Staff, said with a grin that he might be letting out a secret of the inner circle," then went on to say:

"I rarely personally wrote a speech.

"I have heard there were low-level personnel who reviewed the speeches, but the truth is they were relatively low-level persons who wrote the speeches in the first place."

WILLIAM H. STRINGER. Chief of bureau, *Christian Science Monitor*, since 1953. With *Monitor* since 1935; formerly managing editor, chief of London bureau.

RIGHT TO KNOW

I know of no 1-2-3 reaction. Mostly the administration has made a varying response, improving with experience. The press has had fairly free access to this administration.

FILIBUSTER

Any reporter who sits through a filibuster without breaking it is hardly worth his salt. There's always the need, of course, to find the official who is not afraid to talk.

MISINFORMATION

Months ago, a newspaper chain carried a one-sided series on the misuse of foreign aid in Southeast Asia. The story should have been balanced. The press stood discredited when the whole picture came clear. Still, there *has* been a big misuse of foreign aid in that part of the world, and this series registered the fact with the public.

LEAKS

Yes, newsmen like to have "scoops" even when material is intentionally leaked to them. Several likely Kennedy appointments were leaked out as trial balloons, then were never made.

SENSITIVITY

I know of a prominent columnist who was rung up by President Kennedy when he said that the popularity rating of the President — as registered in the polls — had fallen behind and was not registering a decline that had set in. But there has been little favoritism.

COVERAGE

This is very true. Today the press is spread thin covering such matters as atomic energy, space programs, big federal welfare, and others, none of which existed on such a scale before World War II. Bureaus can hardly spare a man to dig deeply. (The press, with notable exceptions, probably does rely too much on handouts and press conferences.)

PAUL W. WARD. Foreign affairs specialist, *The Baltimore Sun*, with Washington bureau 1932-1937, 1940 to present. Pulitzer Prize, 1948.

RIGHT TO KNOW

My experience gives me no cause to demur to the summary, save that an administration is a thing made up of many human beings with inevitably different views of "both the good and the bad."

FILIBUSTER

The phenomenon Hensley cites is a product of what I call Lippmannism, or columning that works "the public hasn't been told" lode. Many press conferences have been staged not to impart news but because word has gone down from the White House to "tell the public." There have been spurts of this each time Lippmann or Reston has suggested that the administration is not "getting its message across." This can have sad results. Newsmen come away feeling the official is a clod. The lecturer in turn becomes wary of the press.

MISINFORMATION

I assume that what Carl Rowan is complaining about is what I call journalistic "merchandising." What is it? It amounts to stories for the sake of headlines, and even stories to fit headlines. A corollary is the manufacture of stories for the stories' sake. Suppose that "Berlin" is commanding lead spots. Reporters are then required to turn out "Berlin" stories even when there is no development to justify them. What they produce is the kind of story Carl complains of.

LEAKS

What seems to me important in respect to calculated "leaks" is (1) that the journalist contrive to make his readers aware that the idea he presents is not his own and (2) that the journalist be capable of detecting and providing balance for the information's purposiveness. Since the U-2 and Cuban affairs, which taught us that even categorical denials or assertions by U. S. government officials are no longer trustworthy in all circumstances, most of the reporters assigned to the State Department have maintained a highly skeptical attitude toward all major formal pronouncements there.

SENSITIVITY

Representative Miller's statement is, I believe, simply partisan bosh. I suspect that I have rated as an "aginner" with all administrations since 1932. Yet I have never been punished in any way for that. On the contrary, there have been instances in which I was singled out for favorable treatment. To be sure, there are reporters who suffer competitive disadvantage because of the size of their employer's audiences, or because they are regarded as untrustworthy (in a security sense), or simply because they have unpleasant personalities or bad breath.

COVERAGE

Speaking only of Washington coverage in the international affairs field, I should have to dissent. It increasingly enlists the attention of journalists who not only "dig" but know what they are digging for and have background enabling them to translate it.

WAYNE PHILLIPS. Special assistant to the Federal Housing Administrator. Reporter, *The New York Times*, 1953-1961.

RIGHT TO KNOW

The candor of the officials of this administration surpasses anything I ever encountered when I was a working reporter. And I know that it has dismayed some of the career people in government, who cannot understand how an official could publicly reveal shortcomings. One of the shocks of my transition was the discovery that objectivity and honesty, in public and in private, are as vigorously demanded by this administration as they were by the newspaper I worked for.

FILIBUSTER

I would imagine the "filibuster" is nothing more than the proclivity we all share to talk about things we are doing and the things we would like everyone else to know about. If these matters are old hat to Stew Hensley, it's only because this administration has never made a secret of its policies and its activities.

MISINFORMATION

The best statement I have heard on how news coverage looks from the inside looking out was by Edward R. Murrow, who said in effect that he was constantly being surprised by how much reporters knew that they shouldn't and by how much they didn't know that they should. That's been my reaction, too.

SENSITIVITY

Those of us who watched the President's campaign from the primaries on know how "sensitive" his organization was to every development that threatened the objective. This was the kind of "sensitivity" that a seismograph has. Political reporters then regarded it as a sign of brilliant political organization. The people in that organization are now scattered about the administration, with a new objective, the implementation of administration policies and programs. Their reaction to criticism is strong. They take vigorous steps to counter criticism. But it is not a personal reaction. It is purely a political reaction, stemming from a desire to gain their objectives.

COVERAGE

There are some excellent digging reporters in Washington who work for newspapers interested in publishing digging stories. There are also some who work for newspapers that are not interested in publishing them. Those in the second category outnumber those in the first. They have three courses open to them: Change to a different newspaper; be satisfied with writing handouts; or go to work for a government agency that can make better use of their talents. Most of them, because of a romantic illusion that newspapering is more than a business, take the second way out. And spend the rest of their lives taking the jibes of such wisecracks as the author of the comment.

What the readers see

How a sample of newspapers treats Washington news

On its way to the public, a news event in Washington usually must pass three major obstacles: It must be reported, a story about it must be transmitted, and, finally, it must pass editors, copy desks, or broadcast news desks.

A survey by the *Review* of what happened to a sample of Washington news last fall indicates that the third hurdle can be the most treacherous one. It suggests in fact that the press corps in Washington is less in need of study than are the news-selection practices of newspapers.

The most important finding of the survey is one that may be obvious: If a Washington story fails to dominate the day's news, or if it fails to be the leading story from the capital, its chances of reaching the public in a given area are not good. In other words, many newspapers appear to fall short of giving an adequate account of the day-by-day actions of the national government.

With tabulating help of graduate journalism students, the editors checked Washington news appearing in a sample of United States daily newspapers on three days in the fall of 1961. The sample was seventeen newspapers — 1 per cent of the country's papers with about 8 per cent of the circulation.* Ten morning papers and seven evenings were represented, ranging in size from about 2,000,000 to less than 8,000 circulation.

The three days selected were the first Wednesdays in September, October, and November. No recurrent

events, such as the Presidential news conference, occurred on these days nor, it was judged, would the news holes in the newspapers be abnormally large or small. The trend of the Washington news of the three days can be summarized as follows:

September 6: Congress was still in session, and the President had just returned to Washington from Massachusetts. The biggest story, for both morning and afternoon papers, was his announcement that the United States would resume nuclear tests. Stories were also available from the Capitol and from federal agencies. The chief non-governmental story was the remarriage of the widow of Senator Joseph McCarthy. The afternoon papers had at least two new stories — passage of a school-aid bill and a Pentagon announcement about General Edwin A. Walker.

October 4: No single story equaled the Presidential announcement of September 6. But morning papers could run any of a half dozen substantial items. The afternoon papers had available several new stories, including the announcement that the President would talk with Andrei Gromyko.

November 1: Many Washington news sources reacted to the Soviet 50-megaton nuclear test. The Weather Bureau, for example, reported on fallout, and members of Congress called for development of a neutron bomb. The afternoon papers had no major new stories.

It should be noted that on none of these three days did international or other national news create excessive pressures on Washington news, although local election campaigns figured prominently in the November 1 papers. Only two subjects in the three days — the September 6 and November 1 stories on nuclear testing — belonged truly in the "must" category. On the rest the editors were able to exercise their powers of choice, which they did. The news-

* The newspapers were chosen by the common method of pretending, in effect, that all copies of dailies printed on a given day were stacked and individual copies pulled at random from the pile. The result is to give a sample of what average readers might see. Because there are more copies in the pile of larger papers, they are more likely to be selected.



On morning of November 1, 1961, Tampa Tribune placed three Washington stories (arrows) on front page

On the same morning, the Milwaukee Sentinel's only detailed Washington story was put on the fourth page



papers' handling of this news was examined for the answers to two questions:

1. What chance was there that a given news story would appear in a paper? Or, to put it in the reverse, did editors appear to apply any consistent standards of importance to news received?
2. How much attention did the papers pay to the run of Washington news?

A tabulation was made of the subjects treated in detail (with three inches or more of text) on each of the three days. The results show striking disagreement, even when stories with local importance are disregarded. On the three days, the morning papers found sixty-nine different stories worthy of detailed treatment. But a majority (six or more) of the ten morning papers ran stories on only seven of these subjects. The afternoon papers, even more scattered, treated eighty-one subjects in detail. A majority (four of seven) used only eleven stories in common. Stories on only three subjects ran in all of the morning papers; on only one in all of the afternoons.

The following table shows the most-favored stories of the three days:

	No. of papers	Inches of Text
Morning papers:		
Nuclear test resumption (9/6)	10	234
Test reactions (11/1)	10	231
Unemployment figures (10/4)	10	77
Foreign aid debate (9/6)	7	63
Draft of doctors (10/4)	7	42
Atlantic defense review (10/4)	6	57
School aid bill signed (10/4)	6	42
General Van Fleet-Adlai Stevenson (11/1)	5	61
Depressed areas - Secretary Hodges (10/4)	5	48
Afternoon papers:		
Test reactions (11/1)	7	217
Nuclear test resumption (9/6)	6	170
Kennedy-Gromyko meeting (10/4)	6	47
School aid bill signed (10/4)	5	50
Titov illness (10/4)	5	43
General Walker (9/6)	4	41
Foreign aid (9/6)	4	37
Postal wage veto (10/4)	4	35
General Van Fleet (11/1)	4	33
School aid bill passed (9/6)	4	27
Sudanese president's visit (10/4)	4	25

As can be seen, wide holes began to open in what the papers printed after each day's leading Washington story. True, the very heavy play given the two nuclear stories made it hard for other stories to get into the paper. But even on October 4, when no one

story dominated, the omissions are striking — for example, the failure of three morning papers to give an account of the physicians' draft or of three afternoons to describe the signing of the school aid bill, both of obvious interest to any locality.

There is at least a hint in these results that some editors do not find comprehensiveness in Washington news a primary responsibility of their papers.

Second question: What kind of attention did the sample papers give Washington news as a whole?

Here again there were wide differences — far more than could be accounted for in variations in the size of the papers and their circulations. As a group, the papers found the three sample days about equal in Washington news value; they printed a total of approximately 1000 inches of news copy on each. But the equality ends at that point: To cite extremes: On November 1 the *Milwaukee Sentinel* (final edition) printed only 9 inches of Washington news (while giving primary attention to a bizarre accident in Anoka, Minnesota); the much smaller *Newport News Press* (also a morning paper) printed more than eleven times as much. On September 6, readers of the afternoon *New York World-Telegram* found thirteen stories treated in detail; readers of the *Indianapolis Times* (another Scripps-Howard paper), only four. The overall results are shown in the accompanying table.

What the calculations reveal is that some of the papers in the sample are giving twice or three times as much attention to Washington as others, while one or two may even be overemphasizing Washington to the neglect of other news.

Bulk is not, of course, to be equated with quality. And it is clear that some of the papers that give a great deal of space to Washington news have rather varied resources. Two of the papers used only e-service dispatches, and only seven of the seventeen had even one item written especially for them. Overall, AP and UPI supplied about 55 per cent of the total Washington lineage, with syndicates filling 30 per cent and special dispatches to the papers 15 per cent. (The syndicates include bureaus operated by newspaper groups and by other papers.) About 30 per cent of the material with Washington datelines was by columnists (not included in the news tabulation).

The findings of this brief study are of course not conclusive, but they hint at a number of questions that papers might ask themselves:

1. Is the paper consciously trying to give an account of the activities of the national government or is it leaving the job to other media? (Several of

Washington coverage in 17 dailies

This table shows (1) the average number of Washington news stories each paper printed a day; (2) the average number of inches devoted to these stories. It also shows (3) the percentage of the stories regarded as important by the majority of editors (see table in article) treated in detail by that particular paper — without implying that the majority judgment is necessarily the correct judgment. The percentages are based on eight stories for morning papers; eleven for afternoons. The papers are listed in order of their composite rank in the three categories.

Paper	Stories	Inches	Percentage
Sacramento Bee (pm)	19	144	100%
N.Y. World-Telegram (pm)	16	119	91
Tampa Tribune (am)	10	66	100
Chicago Sun-Times (am)	8	87	100
Berkeley (Calif.) Gazette (pm)	10	69	91
Phila. Bulletin (pm)	13	79	73
Newport News Daily Press (am)	10	63	88
Cincinnati Enquirer (am)	10	57	88
Enid (Okla.) News (am)	5	31	63
N.Y. News (am)	9	55	50
Duluth News-Tribune (am)	8	48	63
Beaumont (Texas) Enterprise (am)	6	38	75
Meriden (Conn.) Record (am)	4	28	75
Indianapolis Times (pm)	5	38	45
Milwaukee Sentinel (am)	5	31	63
Sayre (Pa.) Times (pm)	5	32	36
Bridgeton (N.J.) News (pm)	2	17	27

the papers that ranked low in the sample are in the same areas with larger, stronger papers.)

2. Is the paper using Washington resources available to it to the fullest extent, or is it printing what happens to come over the wire at the right time?

3. Is the paper likely to give detailed accounts only of the biggest stories and let routine news slide?

4. Is Washington news too easily squeezed out of the paper by attention-getters closer to home?

The tabulations show a raggedness about the printing of Washington news that might well also appear in a larger sample and, no doubt, in comparable studies of local broadcast outlets. The most serious question raised is: When an event takes place in Washington, and a story is transmitted describing it, should the chances be so great that it will never reach the reading public?

NEWSPAPERS

NEW DOW JONES LISTING:

THE NATIONAL OBSERVER

The new weekly newspaper in the Dow Jones-Wall Street Journal family, *The National Observer*, has serious and intelligent editorial purpose and is a carefully crafted product. It is a welcome addition to the journalism of summation and interpretation.

As such, it moves into the field alongside the newsmagazines and the Sunday papers' weekend reviews, with enough differences and distinctions to give it individuality and appeal. Its newspaper format and its later closing set it apart from the country's three major newsmagazines, as does its more leisurely approach to the news. Broad topicality rather than immediacy would seem to be the *Observer's* news-handling goal.

The real innovation that took place on February 4, 1962, with the appearance of the *Observer*, relates to the word *National* in its title. Much has been said and written in this country about the slowness of national newspapers to appear. Comparisons are made with Britain and other countries where the metropolitan press is read, thought about, and talked about nationally. The American press, at least for the past century and more, has been traditionally parochial, feeding local interests.

The new *Observer* may be on its way toward becoming an organ more truly national than any before. It has no local meaning, either in editorial or advertising content. Its datelines and regional references are scattered all the way from the sealskin market in Alaska to the launching pads at Canaveral. Furthermore (and quite a bit further and quite a bit more), the *Observer* will have its circulation problems under control by being tied to the printing and distributional system of the *Journal*.

The *Observer* comes to its editorial job with strong packaging instincts at work. It is a newspaper of the wrapup, the roundup, the summary. "To sift the news, to put it in perspective, to present it in a manageable package" — these are among its stated goals.

The newspaper does not accent hard news, although events of Saturday (for example, the return of the U-2 pilot Powers early on Feb. 10 was recounted in the issue of Feb. 11) can be noted in the next day's paper. Some of the roundups have a flavor of "writing from the clips"; the smell of the library and the morgue is noticeable. Some of the articles are almost unbelievably prolix.

But the editors are fundamentally sound in arguing that too much of news is a barrel of fragments and in undertaking to put some order and understanding into their observations of current history. The formula, already well known to readers of the outside columns of the daily *Wall Street Journal*, is applied again and again through the pages of the new *Observer*. It is a good formula; the writing is clear; the stories have breadth, scope and authority.

Visually, the *Observer* is dignified and handsomely conservative. A real antique (not unlike a face that the *Saturday Evening Post* once favored) was hunted down for the nameplate. The newsprint is of better quality than daily readers are accustomed to. Photographs are handled boldly and dramatically; reproduction is excellent; selection inclines to be thematic. Their handling in some instances is in the ear-cropping mode that is coming to be known as denosque. The six-column page, each column 15½ picas wide, repeats the format of the *Journal*, a most attractive and sensible format from the reader's point of view. The paper is well made.

The editing reveals a number of innovations. Split heads, traditionally the mark of sloppy desk work and the bane of an editor's life, are refined to a high

The National Observer's first published front page



art in the *Observer*. Studied effort is made to break up groupings and drag readers from line to line.

Traditional news leads are abandoned when the story asks to be told chronologically. One news story begins: "The first gathering of the heirarchy [sic] of the Christian religion was held in the year 325 at the town of Nicea . . ."

Subjects and types of subjects presented in the issue were well balanced. There is a certain lack of departmentalizing, and some pages seem cluttered with stories of major import trickling off into fillers of trifling import.

The advertising-to-editorial ratio was a precise fifty-fifty in the first issue. It contained 32 pages and was one section. (But advertising fell off to a low 17 per cent in the second issue.)

Those responsible for *The National Observer* have made a promising start. They may find they will need more field reporters and fewer inside re-writemen. They may want to organize more departmentally and make other changes. But the newspaper's purpose is sound, its shortcomings are those of execution, and the opening performance is deserving of congratulations all around. — R.T.B.

WEST COAST SUCCESS STORY:

San Francisco Chronicle

THE VOICE OF THE WEST

By A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

SAN FRANCISCO

The *San Francisco Chronicle* may well be the big-city newspaper of the future. It has flexible, airy layout. Its headlines are slick and eye-catching. Its stories are set in type arranged for easy consumption. It can draw on at least nine news services and about forty columnists. It has a lively, unpartisan editorial page — strongly favoring such causes as civil rights. It is fun to read. It just doesn't print much news.

The *Chronicle* formula has been so successful that, after trailing the rival *Examiner* for seventy-two years, it announced in February, 1961, that it had become "the No. 1 newspaper in northern California." As of December, 1961, it claimed 300,131 readers, a lead of 21,958 over the *Examiner*.

It remains to be seen whether this surge will be slowed when the Pacific Coast edition of *The New York Times* arrives late in 1962. (The *Chronicle* now has the *Times* leased-wire service, but will lose it when the *Times* starts to publish in California.) It seems possible that some suburban readers — who have been important to the paper's recent growth — may choose the *Times* in the morning and a suburban daily in the evening. On the other hand, the *Chronicle* may seem indispensable to those who would like the *Times's* bulky fare, but would miss the *Chronicle's* brightness, comment, and local news. It

is still too early to make a good prediction. Much depends on the acquired tastes of San Francisco.

Today's *Chronicle* is a paper quite different from that of the Paul C. Smith era (1935-1952). Then the *Chronicle* aimed at becoming *The New York Times* of the West and was often considered, in the words of the historians Kenneth Stewart and John Tebbel, "easily the worthiest paper on the Pacific Coast." But its fortunes varied under Smith. Its circulation rose from 98,000 to more than 180,000, then dropped off to 155,000 in 1952.

In 1952, control of the paper was turned over to Charles de Young Thieriot, a descendant of the de Young family that founded the paper. He picked another native San Franciscan, Scott Newhall, as executive editor. Both men had worked on the *Chronicle* since the mid-1930's, but they abandoned the past to create a paper that recalled the original name given it in 1865 — the *Daily Dramatic Chronicle*. Hearst's once flamboyant *Examiner* became the more staid of San Francisco's morning papers. The *Chronicle* became flippant, sexy, and sophisticated in a sub-debutante way. Its circulation rose.

The real earmark of the new *Chronicle* has been its stable of columnists — eleven of them *Chronicle* property. The most popular is undoubtedly Herb Caen, whose daily tidbits about San Francisco, like some types of fine wine, do not travel well. It may be

San Francisco
Sunday Chronicle

90th Year No. 28

FINAL EDITION

★ ★

SUNDAY, JANUARY 28, 1962

25 CENTS

Garfield 1-1111

'BIG STINK' SETS OFF GAS SCARE IN S.F.

Thousands Alarmed

Sickening Odor Lasts for Hours-- Origin Unknown

A gas with a sickening smell drifted from the East Bay into San Francisco yesterday afternoon and clung to the city from 2 p. m. until dusk.

Air pollution experts said the gas came from either an oil refinery or a chemical plant, but they were unable to track it to its source.

The odor set off fears that gas mains might have ruptured. But an extensive survey by Pacific Gas and Electric Company showed its lines were intact.

It wasn't until 4 p. m. four

hours after the odor was first detected that the Bay Area Air Pollution Control District was able to even identify the gas itself.

Air Pollution Control Officer Benjamin Linky said it was a mercaptan-type compound which is formed as a by-product of petroleum refining and is used extensively in chemical plants.

It takes only a few pounds to stink up a tremendous area because they are odorous at a few parts in 100 per billion parts of air," he said.

Because the gas is the same kind that is used as a warning agent in natural gas, people who smelled it feared that gas mains were leaking.

But this warning agent of itself is not in the least hazardous.

He agreed, however, with

See Page 12, Col. 5

Youth Atop
Gate Span--
Traffic Jam

An Oakland youth climbed a cable of the Golden Gate Bridge at dusk yesterday and crouched high above the bridge deck for 80 minutes until a priest rescued him to safety.

Thousands of motorists witnessed the dramatic rescue efforts.

The aerial drama at south lower on the San Francisco side of the span created a traffic snarl in the Marin-bound lanes.

It was two hours before traffic moved freely again.

IDENTIFICATION
The thin dark-haired youth first gave his name as Steve Brockman, 18, of Arroyo.

Later he told a psychiatrist he was Richard Kohler, 18, of 7900 Sterling drive, Oakland.

"I just got nervous," he said. A southbound motorist first spotted him walking up the cable at 5:30 p. m. He was about 30 feet up by the time Highway Patrolman J. Jay Flynn arrived on the scene.

Flynn and Lieutenant Everett Jennings pleaded with the youth to come back, but he kept on climbing.

The three-foot-wide cable rose gradually from mid-span, but more steeply as it neared the towers. Smaller cables on both sides of the main cable serve as hand holds for bridge workers.

By the time San Francisco firemen and police units arrived with searchlights, young Kohler had disappeared into the deepening gloom some 300 feet above the roadway.

Rescue workers on the deck tried to pick him out with searchlights and flashlights, while a Coast Guard boat's searchlight swept the cables from the bay 740 feet below.

Then a bridge workman, Richard Seward, started slow-

See Page 8, Col. 2

Chubby's Fans



CHECKER HAD THEM IN THE AISLES
On the outside--a fight every 2 minutes

Sharp Dig
At Mental
Hospitals

By David Perlman
San Francisco's first mental hospital was a place of horror, a place of a couple of widely differing but equally cherished concepts yesterday.

Said one today's psychiatric therapy in even the best of mental hospitals is ineffective for severely ill patients.

It's based largely on "when, prejudice and fancy."

Their ill-humors brought on a series of brawls which every lawman and were erupting at the rate of "at least one every two minutes."

There were several injuries, but all were minor and officers said that the violence felt something short of being a riot.

Inside the big hall though there WAS a riot--but of a happier sort.

An estimated 15,500

Fists and
Twists at
Cow Palace

By Ron Plante
Some 2,000 ticketless and trouble-free fans engaged in a succession of violent fistfights and at least one stabbing outside the Cow Palace last night.

Their surliest stemmed from a common cause: They couldn't get inside to see and hear Chubby Checker, the "Twist" king.

Their ill-humors brought on a series of brawls which every lawman and were erupting at the rate of "at least one every two minutes."

There were several injuries, but all were minor and officers said that the violence felt something short of being a riot.

Inside the big hall though there WAS a riot--but of a happier sort.

An estimated 15,500

Dismal Disappointment

Spaceman's Shot Delayed--Weather

Now It's
Thursday
Or Friday

United States plans to

rocket astronaut John H. Glenn Jr. into lifeless

around the world were

frustrated yesterday by a low-hanging, leaden cloud

blanket.

After spending five hours and 13 minutes atop a fully loaded and highly explosive Atlas

booster Glenn returned to his special quarters

where he said simply--

"Well, there'll be another day."

That day won't come before next Thursday or Friday, maybe later.

CONFERENCE
At a news conference yesterday afternoon officials of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration said

The attempted launch is now scheduled for not earlier than Thursday, February 1

or Friday, February 2, depending on technical evaluation of the space craft and launch vehicle serving requirements.

In any case, there was an unfavorable weather report extending over the next 48 hours.

This was the fifth post-pogment since December 20, a 48-hour extension after fuel and the damnable disappointment in efforts to hammer out and in a week that was a formula that would be set.

See Page 12, Col. 1

See Page 12, Col. 7

'Erase Molotov From the Map'

London Press

Moscow

The Supreme Soviet

(Parliament) has decreed

the name of the late Stalin

as Vyacheslav M. Molotov

be erased from all geo-

graphical places and public

landmarks throughout the

Soviet Union.

Also ordered erased yesterday were the names of the

other members of the so-

called "anti-party" Stalinist

faction--ex-Premier Georgi

Malenkov, ex-President

See Page 12, Col. 4

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See Page 12, Col. 4

all good
things...



150 Barges
Run Wild on
Mississippi

London Press

Cairo, Ill.

A flotilla of heavy

barges--as estimated 150

of them--were loose from

their moorings yesterday

and were swept down the

ice-gorged Mississippi

river.

The barges ripped each

other loose from their

steel cables and banged

against bridge piers and

river terminals as they

wandered helter-skelter,

first down the Ohio river

and then the Mississippi.

They knocked out some

telephone and power lines,

derailed passing trains,

and damaged some railroad

loading facilities.

Twelve hours after the

24 m. breakaway, the barges

were strung out along the

Mississippi for 70 miles, down

to the Kentucky-Tennessee

border.

A small fleet of towboats

is now en route to the

**A Crash Ends
Church Service**

Newark, N.J.

Services at the Mount

Zion Pentecostal Church

came to a shattering end

yesterday night when a stolen

car smashed through a

plate-glass window in the

building.

Police said about 30 per-

sons were attending the

service in the church--a

converted store. Police were

chasing the stolen car when

the driver lost control of the

vehicle and it plowed into

the church. No one was se-

riously injured.

The second came from Dr.

S. Rains Wallace, psychologist

at the Veterans Adminis-

tration Hospital in Palo

Alto.

The second came from Dr.

S. Rains Wallace, psychologist

the California
Zephyr
come by
WESTERN
PACIFIC

Western Pacific Ticket Office
in San Francisco 1275 Market
St., TR 2-2100, is national.

Sunday dress: Chronicle brings out its largest type on Sunday, for stories of varying importance. Above: January 28

hard for someone outside San Francisco to grasp the attractiveness of such an item as this:

"If you've never been sure that cleanliness is next to Godliness, you can prove it at Ed Thayer's Campus Launderette on T'graph Ave. in Berkeley. Two of his machines, standing side by side, are named 'Cleanliness' and 'Godliness.' Okay, Nikita. Drop it. What the hell."

But Caen is popular, and when he left the *Examiner* a couple of years ago to return to the *Chronicle*, Hearst executives could count the circulation losses in five figures immediately.

Terrence O'Flaherty is considered one of the best among television critics. Charles McCabe's columns bring wit to sports; they deal in such matters as the untoward psychological effects if the San Francisco Giants were to have a winning season. The most notorious of the group is Count Marco, who advises women on various intimate matters, and was sent to Los Angeles to cover the Finch-Tregoff trial. There are also Lucius Beebe, direct from the nineteenth century; Art Hoppe, political reporter and satirist; Ralph Gleason on jazz; Alfred Frankenstein on music and art; and others.

Chronicle crusades and promotions also helped to push the paper ahead. The crusades may be highly sophisticated. The paper published a series by Allan Temko, an architectural critic, attacking the "incredibly mediocre" plan drawn up by state engineers for a new bridge across southern San Francisco Bay. The results were the appointment of a new architect and a new plan. Community fundraising is also given prominent space.

Promotions are even more varied. One recent one is the *Chronicle's* sponsoring of the world championship domino tournament. Count Marco's campaigns to melt fat from San Francisco's women, begun early in 1961, are still in progress. Another well-remembered promotion was the *Chronicle's* sending its outdoor editor, Bill Boyd, into the mountains two years ago to see whether he and his family could survive under primitive conditions. Boyd's series, filled with tales of hardship, appeared in the *Chronicle* and was sold to a number of other dailies. It happened that Boyd and his family had dined on canned goods and had left the mountains before the series began. The *Examiner* found this out and "exposed" the series. The Boyds and the *Chronicle* filed libel suits, as yet undecided.

The space given to columnists, crusades, and promotions is lavish. What happens to the news? There is, in fact, space enough left in a paper as large as the *Chronicle* to give an accounting of the world's

Another full-page extracurricular activity

Announcing the
**WORLD CHAMPIONSHIP
 DOMINO TOURNAMENT**



Sponsored by the
San Francisco Chronicle
 in the Domino Room of the
SAN FRANCISCO COMMERCIAL CLUB
 Saturday, February 17, 1962



Entries are limited and selected from among the membership of the Chronicle's community interest club as well as from qualified domino teams from here and abroad.

Winning team of 2 receives 4 free chess rounds; membership return to Havana via Moscow and subsequent sale of WORLD DOMINO CHAMPIONS

Entries are now open at \$100 donation per team in favor of HUNTERS POINT BOYS CLUB (Donations are tax deductible)

For information and registration write DOMINO CHAMPIONSHIP SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE San Francisco 18 California

events, and the *Chronicle* has the wire resources to do so. It simply has not done so. A reader of the paper in recent years could find many, many individual news items — sometimes more than 200 — but few treating affairs outside California in anything but a routine manner or at any length. In recent months, there have been signs of mild improvement. The *Chronicle* was one of the handful in the country that published the full text of the Kennedy-Adzubhei interview in November. There has also been an increasing use of "wrap-ups" from several sources to present international news. The *Chronicle* got a new foreign editor, Robert Albrook, from *The Washington Post* last year.

Unusual touches mark the paper's handling of individual news stories. The dates on datelines have disappeared. A story from Russia will have the word "Moscow" above the story, with no date and sometimes no indication of the date in the first paragraph. The source of the story is often printed at the end: "Associated Press," "United Press" (not "United Press International" — too long).

In its local news coverage, the *Chronicle* is alert and lavish. Its writers, on occasion, produce gems of

NEWSPAPERS

color and lustre that make routinely handled wire dispatches look drab.

In effect, the *Chronicle* creates a universe of its own, where most of what happens that is interesting takes place on the shores of San Francisco Bay. Much of what occurs abroad is, it appears, merely bizarre — or dull and obligatory. The long-term effects of this point of view on San Franciscans can only be guessed, but visitors have found it disorienting. A Peace Corps trainee at the University of California in Berkeley said, "I just can't find out what's going on."

Still (if circulation is equated with success) the *Chronicle* formula has been highly successful. Its increases of the past eight years have been won in a metropolitan area that now has about 600,000 morning newspaper purchasers — a near-saturation point, judging by the much smaller morning circulations in areas of comparable size (Detroit, Pittsburgh). The *Chronicle* still lags behind the *Examiner* on two fronts, though. The Sunday *Chronicle*, with an even gaudier front page than the daily and five or more

special tabloid sections, still trails the Sunday *Examiner* by more than 100,000 readers. Nor has *Chronicle* advertising, despite striking gains (more than a million lines in 1961), matched the *Examiner's*.

It is conceivable that in a few years the *Chronicle* may overcome even these leads. If, indeed, the *Chronicle* methods point the way to survival in city competition, they are a disturbing refutation of the hypothesis that prosperity now comes to those who give straight news. Hard-pressed metropolitan papers may find themselves studying the *Chronicle's* example. Indeed, certain aspects of the reshaped *New York Herald Tribune* suggest parallels.

It may be, too, that such developments as the *Times's* westward movement will mean that more papers like the *Chronicle* will surrender comprehensiveness to national publications and pursue more congenial local byways. In the direction the *Chronicle* takes, not a few metropolitan newspaper editors may read their own futures.

[The *Review* plans to re-examine the situation on the West Coast after establishment of the Western edition of *The New York Times*.]

Wanted: urban critics

Not many newspapers involve themselves, as does the San Francisco Chronicle, an architectural and planning criticism. In this editorial from Landscape Architecture magazine, Grady Clay, the editor of the magazine and real-estate editor of The Courier-Journal, Louisville, invites newspapers into the field.

During recent years I have been studying with special and professional interest the Sunday sections of many prominent newspapers. These are devoted to "Home and Business," to "Homes and Gardens," to "Modern Living," or more commonly to "Real Estate and Building." While these supplements deal with the design, use, occupation and enjoyment of the American landscape, they are strongly oriented toward successful merchandising of real property. Their tone toward agents, contractors, and their merchandise is generally admiring and seldom expertly and openly critical.

On most daily newspapers, one may criticize a movie because it's "entertainment." But one may not criticize a new housing tract of 300 acres because this might hurt sales. One may ride roughshod over an inept artist. But one may not openly criticize a housing project which is offensive to the eyes of its 2,400 tenants and 10,000 neighbors. This is "editorial comment" and belongs on the editorial page. (But try to find a practicing architectural critic on a typical newspaper!)

Why should a new civic center escape the kind of detailed criticism which newspapers lavish on new plays, movies, TV shows, books, and musical performances? Why should a new redevelopment project be discussed solely on the basis of how many families it will displace, how much it costs, or who got what commission on the land sale? Why such daily concern with legal trivia and such indifference to progressive visual ruin?

The impact of mass-produced housing and new expressways, of redevelopment and untrammelled sprawl, is continuous and often depressing. There is no subject in contemporary life more deserving of the expert, searching gaze of the daily journalist...

Widespread uglification needs the widest variety of criticism — not only in *Landscape Architecture* and in *Fortune* but in the daily newspapers which are read by millions of people. We challenge the newspapers of America to rise to this occasion.

The Hearst obituary (continued)

W. A. Swanberg's *Citizen Hearst* (Charles Scribner's Sons) is the sixth portrayal — the eighth, counting the Orson Welles movie from which the title derives (odd turnabout) and the Aldous Huxley novel, *After Many a Summer Dies the Swan* — of the life of a man variously regarded as a genius, a menace, and a freak. No American journalist save Horace Greeley, it is melancholy to note, has attracted so many biographers; and it is a fair guess that not since James Parton's ebullient life of Greeley appeared in 1855 has the life of a journalist found so many readers as this one.

Was Hearst a journalist? As W. A. Swanberg demonstrates in this massive and colorful recitation, Hearst was a man "to whom truth in the news was never of great importance and who was essentially a showman and propagandist, not a newsmen." If it be insisted that he was, nonetheless, a journalist, we have the author's summation that journalistically he was a failure.

How, then, account for all the interest? In brief, because Hearst failed on a Gargantuan scale, not only as a journalist, but as a politician, as a propagandist, and above all as a citizen, a citizen who had unparalleled opportunities for service. Historically, his place, like his publishing empire, has shrunk far more than either the sycophants of his organization or the Hearst-haters of a generation ago would have believed possible. His chief importance lies in his wide and wild application of Pulitzer's formula of popular journalism, a formula that he embroidered endlessly, but kept intact for more than fifty years.

Journalism's reaction to him was, perhaps, more important than anything he did himself. As John Tebbel pointed out in his less detailed but more urbane biography of a decade ago, the American newspaper's level of integrity, to say nothing of its overall performance, advanced markedly during the

very years Hearst was charged with bringing it to ruin. To the extent that this was attributable to the deliberate efforts of Adolph Ochs and others to counter Hearst journalism, the Chief deserves inverted credit; beyond this, he gave us little that proved enduring.

A genius? He built his empire on inherited money and borrowed ideas. A menace? Though surrounded by the mythology and trappings of power, and in command of facilities of frightening potential, his power proved largely illusory. No man ever demonstrated more effectively that circulation is no measure of influence. What counts is reputation, and Hearst's was such that the people — fond as he was of proclaiming that "no one loves us but the people" — had little regard for what he said. He wanted to amuse them, and they were amused; he wanted to influence them, and they were a- or be-mused, and not much else.

Citizen Hearst is not, the author tells us on page 538, "a definitive biography." It will do. Swanberg has scored a triumph of organization, weaving Hearst's personal, political, and publishing doings, diverse as they were, into a narrative that never lags and never violates chronology. Its defects are, appropriately, Hearstian defects. Swanberg ogles the food, the tapestries, the staff, the bathroom fixtures of sundry fixed and floating castles of the Chief in the "gee-whiz" tone of a Hearst society chronicler. He tells us not once, but several times, that Hearst's personal expenditures ran to \$15,000,000 a year, that he thought nothing of rousing editors by long distance in the dead of night, that one — just one — cocktail was served before dinner, that Hearst was kind to animals and the soul of courtesy to the ladies, and that Marion Davies, his mistress for a third of a century, loyally paid the price that society (both cap and lower case) exacted of her. And there are echoes of Hearst's editorial-page style: "Hearst's coverage

NEWSPAPERS

of the *Maine* disaster still stands as the acme of ruthless, truthless newspaper jingoism."

For all that, Swanberg has written a memorable book. It is memorable largely because his subject — impulsive, shy, utterly adolescent, fueled by enormous energy, by turns sentimental and cruel in his towering megalomania — was a highly volatile personality whose ups and downs were as improbable as anything in his old *American Weekly*. The author, in his anxiety to do full justice to his man, insists on Hearst's sincerity while proving his chicanery, makes much of his brilliant mind while showing that it was, on the whole, about level with his readers', excoriates Hearst's critics while documenting most of the criticism, and concludes, after confessing bafflement, that Hearst was two people, saint and devil. No matter. Thanks to a wealth of incident and anecdote, the Hearst personality comes through. This, plus the light that such a profligate life casts upon the society that produced it, is the virtue of *Citizen Hearst*.

Let the Chief's epitaph read:

"He made good copy."

— L.M.S.

"They broke their trust"

On January 25, "CBS Reports," the network's weekly one-hour documentary program, presented "Death in the City Room," an autopsy on the two Los Angeles newspapers, the *Mirror* and the *Examiner*, that ceased to be on January 5 and 6. One of the program's most striking episodes was an interview by the producer, Jack Beck, with James Richardson, a member of the Hearst organization for forty years and city editor of the *Examiner* for twenty, until his retirement in 1957. Richardson was described by Charles Collingwood, narrator-reporter on the program, as follows: "Called the 'Last of the Terrible Men,' 'Captain Bligh,' and by James Cagney, who once portrayed him in a movie, 'a hard man to shave,' Richardson was the kind of editor William Randolph Hearst loved. Richardson loved the *Examiner* and 'the Chief.'" Richardson offered these thoughts on what plagued the *Examiner*:

RICHARDSON: Both the papers — both the *Times* and the *Examiner* — were used for — many, many times — for selfish motives for the publisher, or for the

From an ad for "Death in the City Room":

Obituaries

LOS ANGELES EXAMINER — Suddenly, on Sunday, Jan. 7, at age 58. One of the oldest newspapers of the Hearst chain. Mourned by more than 1,000 reporters, editors, linotypists, and pressmen whose faithful supporter it was. Cherished morning companion of 374,776 Angelinos (693,163 on Sunday). Survived by a younger brother, the Los Angeles Herald-Express, now renamed the Herald-Examiner. Interment, private.

LOS ANGELES MIRROR NEWS (nee Los Angeles Mirror) on Friday, Jan. 5, at age 13, after a long illness. Youngest offspring of the Norman Chandler newspaper family and favorite afternoon journal of 301,882 readers. Merged in 1954 with the late Los Angeles Daily News. Survived by one older brother, the prominent morning Los Angeles Times.

social ambition of somebody. The Chief would get off on some daisies. He got off on anti-vivisection and had to be stopped, you see. This is because he loved animals. He was a sentimental man, and what we had to do to stop vivisection just lost us readers and readers and readers. On top of that, the medical profession was very much against us. That was one. Then his preference for the America Firsters when they came out, including McCarthy and Lindbergh, and that crew. That didn't do us any good, particularly at the time when the sons of the people in Los Angeles were over fighting.

BECK: What about the one time you had that you were commissioned to change the name of a park here in town? What about that one?

RICHARDSON: Yes. That was another thing that lost us circulation — not the changing of the name, though it must have done some, but his unfailing support of General MacArthur, when he was down south. We got the word that he wanted a living memorial to establish in Los Angeles, to General MacArthur, and much to my shame and everlasting

humiliation, I went out and changed the name of a beautiful place called Westlake Park into MacArthur Park.

BECK: If you didn't agree with the policy, why did you follow it?

RICHARDSON: You just have to follow orders, you know. I'd kick about it, and they put on a campaign of some kind for a new street or something, and I knew just what it was — some real estate man that got to the front office, you see. But outside of that — and I tried to smother it with the good coverage on the other local news, and I think I succeeded — I think the paper was a very good local paper.

BECK: As I recall, too, the *Examiner* frequently would be commended by this group, or by that group, or the other group, and they used to make quite a big thing out of it. Do you think that helped establish the credibility with the readers?

RICHARDSON: No, not a bit. Half the time we had to go out and hustle up the commendation, particularly if it was on some policy of Mr. Hearst.

BECK: Why do you think they don't have the influence they once did have?

RICHARDSON: Because they broke their trust with the public just like they're breaking it in this deal. You see, here's a point that I made down there with the management. The Democratic registration in Los Angeles and Los Angeles County is 2 to 1 — it's 3 to 2, or something. And I said, why don't we let them have a little news once in a while, because you're just flying in the face of the people who predominate.

Well, they did open up a little bit. I think that people don't feel now they haven't got a champion. You know what I mean? Somebody to go out there and fight for them, and they need one badly. We all do.

BECK: Mr. Richardson, do you think the *Examiner* would have died on Friday if Mr. Hearst were still alive?

RICHARDSON: No, I don't think so — if he had been young, in good health, and also if Marion Davies had been alive. I don't think — in fact, the former publisher of the *Mirror* told me that he knew that if — this deal would never have gone through if Marion Davies had been alive. Marion loved the paper as much as she did the "old man" — had the same kind of interest, and she would have spent every cent of her fortune to have kept the *Examiner* alive — and she has a fortune. . . .

BECK: Well, why would it be to the interest of the Hearst corporation to close down the paper which was the more successful of the two, the *Examiner*?

RICHARDSON: That's why I said that the paper was murdered.

BECK: But to what purpose?

RICHARDSON: Well, that's where the money comes in. Chandler wanted the morning field exclusively. I don't know why. He is ahead, but he wanted all competition out. There was a deal, a big deal, and I hope that we can get the Congressman (Emanuel) Celler over here with his committee to find out what the truth was.



"Would you pass me page 3,286? I want to finish this article . . ."

From L'Express: "Siné discovers America" (printed in Atlas)

MAGAZINES

GIANTS ON

The section that follows contains discussion of the trials of mass magazines, the giants among the 8,000 and more periodicals published in the United States. Roughly defined, a mass magazine is one that reaches a sizable proportion of the country's households. If this proportion is taken as 1 in 25, there were eighteen mass magazines at the end of 1961 — four weeklies, a bi-weekly, and thirteen monthlies. The list is smaller than it was ten years ago. It has had but three additions — TV Guide, Time and True — while six magazines have left it: Cosmopolitan disposed of its mass circulation; Household, Women's Home Companion, American, Collier's, and, in 1961, Coronet, vanished.

In this portion, the historical background of the magazines' problems is presented by the advertising columnist of The New York Times.

By PETER BART

Mass magazines these days are experiencing their most serious financial squeeze. They are struggling with soaring costs, fighting off competition from other magazines and other media, and wooing advertisers who themselves are growing increasingly skeptical about some of the tenets of the mass-magazine business. Finally, they are working to achieve and maintain identity at a time when public tastes are undergoing basic changes.

How did the mass magazines fall upon trying times? In the original state, the economics of the magazine world was almost embarrassingly simple. A publisher started a new magazine because he had something to say. He hoped that readers would be willing to buy his magazine in quantities sufficient to cover his costs.

Thus in 1787 when Noah Webster started *The American Magazine*, his main interest was to give vent to his twin interests in Federalism and philology. Even a century later when a shrewd businessman named Samuel Sidney McClure founded *McClure's*, his principal intent was to gain a substantial readership and to earn a profit on circulation. Through the muckraking articles of Ida Tarbell, Ray Stannard Baker, and Lincoln Steffens, *McClure's* became briefly profitable and influential.

Down through the decades, however, magazine publishers began to reason that a magazine could be

a showcase for merchandise as well as for ideas. Why rely on circulation revenues when advertising could yield even greater profits? This idea, to be sure, did not catch hold overnight. The story is told how, at the turn of the century, a pioneering advertising man, George P. Rowell, walked into the offices of *Harper's Weekly* and offered to buy a page on behalf of a manufacturing company. Mr. Rowell's offer met with a courteous response, but when he inquired about circulation the atmosphere became icy. He was tossed out of the office and his ads were barred from the magazine.

Mr. Rowell and his friends, of course, soon came upon better days. Today's agency men are deluged with magazine circulation statistics embracing not only the size of circulation but numerous details of economic status and purchasing habits of subscribers. Over the years, the concept of the magazine as a marketing entity rather than as an editorial entity has gained predominance. The magazine has become a merchant, and the person who buys it has become a "consumer." All this sounds simple enough, and was apparent as early as the mid-1920's. But the rise of the magazine as merchant has brought with it some complex problems. To list some:

1. Declining emphasis on circulation revenue. Magazine publishers learned that the way to build advertising revenue was to build circulation — thus drawing more ads at higher rates. Hence, to get more subscribers, publishers began virtually to give away their magazines through cut-rate subscriptions and other devices. By 1959, *Life* was selling nearly 78 per

UNEASY FOOTING

cent of its subscriptions at less than the basic price; *Look*, 51 per cent; *Newsweek*, 63 per cent. This practice gave rise to the jockeying that the industry now calls "the numbers game" and also brought about the decline of the newsstand as the key to magazine circulation.

2. Magazines in effect passed more and more of their costs from the subscriber to the advertiser. The subscriber paid less for his magazine. The larger circulation guarantees forced the advertiser to pay more for his space. Yet he reached a less selective audience.

3. Two new factors rose in importance. First, rival media — particularly television — began to drain off advertiser dollars that might have gone to the magazines. Second, the costs of magazine mass production jumped. For example, the cost of paper rose 31 per cent between 1951 and 1961, and printing costs rose 44 per cent, according to James Kobak of J. K. Lasser & Company, the leading magazine accountants. Partly as a result of the squeeze on profits, some publishers have ventured into allied fields — radio, television, or encyclopedia and book publishing.

In a recent study, Mr. Kobak noted that between 1950 and 1960 net profits of the thirty-five magazine publishers fell from 4.3 per cent to 1.7 per cent of gross income. In the relatively bountiful year of 1960, 39 per cent of all magazines reporting to Lasser lost money, and early in the recession year of 1961 Mr. Kobak estimated that a majority of magazines were operating in the red. The prospects for 1962 have been dampened by the strong possibility of major increases in postal fees.

Still, in a report to the Magazine Publishers Association, Mr. Kobak cited several optimistic portents. At long last, he said, there are signs that publishers are beginning "to re-examine their basic operating philosophies. They are asking themselves, 'Where do we go from here?'" These re-assessments are part of a general ferment that is apparent throughout the magazine business.

One sign of it is in the format changes that *Life*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, and other magazines

undertook in 1961. Up to now, the changes have mainly involved graphics but to some extent the editorial content also has been revitalized.

While the established magazines in some cases were changing their formats, a spate of new magazines made an appearance. During the fall of 1961 about two dozen magazines either appeared for the first time or announced that they would make their debut. Significantly, all of the new publications were aimed at specialized audiences rather than mass readerships. The new magazine publishers generally have priced their publications at a considerably higher level than the mass magazines in an effort to get the reader to pay his way again.

Many new publishers base their thinking on a sort of "life-span" theory of magazine publishing. According to their theory, magazines arise to serve a specific need or trend of the times. When this need is filled they fade away. Hence the decline of the old *American Mercury* of H. L. Mencken or the muck-raking magazines like *McClure's*. Significantly, the two most prominent magazines that apparently have survived their "life cycles" — *Ladies Home Journal* and the *Saturday Evening Post* — are those that now are in the worst trouble.

The mass magazine publishers, however, refuse to be counted out. James Linen, president of Time, Inc., emphatically deplores the idea that mass magazines have seen their best days. He acknowledges that *Life's* profits have been seriously eroded in recent years, but predicts that the magazine again will become highly profitable within the next year or so. Moreover, according to Mr. Linen, a number of important potential cost reductions are on the horizon — new methods of reducing paper costs and lowering distribution expenses.

No doubt, those who foresee doom for mass magazines are vastly overstating their case. But it is now apparent that the ranks of the mass-circulation magazines will continue to thin. Meanwhile the spectrum of special-interest magazines will continue to fill out and a whole new group of high-priced, high-quality publications will come into being.

MAGAZINES

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Down through the decades, however, magazine publishers began to reason that a magazine could be

a showcase for merchandise as well as for ideas. Why rely on circulation revenues when advertising could yield even greater profits? This idea, to be sure, did not catch hold overnight. The story is told how, at the turn of the century, a pioneering advertising man, George P. Rowell, walked into the offices of *Harper's Weekly* and offered to buy a page on behalf of a manufacturing company. Mr. Rowell's offer met with a courteous response, but when he inquired about circulation the atmosphere became icy. He was tossed out of the office and his ads were barred from the magazine.

Mr. Rowell and his friends, of course, soon came upon better days. Today's agency men are deluged with magazine circulation statistics embracing not only the size of circulation but numerous details of economic status and purchasing habits of subscribers. Over the years, the concept of the magazine as a marketing entity rather than as an editorial entity has gained predominance. The magazine has become a merchant, and the person who buys it has become a "consumer." All this sounds simple enough, and was apparent as early as the mid-1920's. But the rise of the magazine as merchant has brought with it some complex problems. To list some:

1. Declining emphasis on circulation revenue. Magazine publishers learned that the way to build advertising revenue was to build circulation — thus drawing more ads at higher rates. Hence, to get more subscribers, publishers began virtually to give away their magazines through cut-rate subscriptions and other devices. By 1959, *Life* was selling nearly 78 per

UNEASY FOOTING

cent of its subscriptions at less than the basic price; *Look*, 51 per cent; *Newsweek*, 63 per cent. This practice gave rise to the jockeying that the industry now calls "the numbers game" and also brought about the decline of the newsstand as the key to magazine circulation.

2. Magazines in effect passed more and more of their costs from the subscriber to the advertiser. The subscriber paid less for his magazine. The larger circulation guarantees forced the advertiser to pay more for his space. Yet he reached a less selective audience.

3. Two new factors rose in importance. First, rival media — particularly television — began to drain off advertiser dollars that might have gone to the magazines. Second, the costs of magazine mass production jumped. For example, the cost of paper rose 31 per cent between 1951 and 1961, and printing costs rose 44 per cent, according to James Kobak of J. K. Lasser & Company, the leading magazine accountants. Partly as a result of the squeeze on profits, some publishers have ventured into allied fields — radio, television, or encyclopedia and book publishing.

In a recent study, Mr. Kobak noted that between 1950 and 1960 net profits of the thirty-five magazine publishers fell from 4.3 per cent to 1.7 per cent of gross income. In the relatively bountiful year of 1960, 39 per cent of all magazines reporting to Lasser lost money, and early in the recession year of 1961 Mr. Kobak estimated that a majority of magazines were operating in the red. The prospects for 1962 have been dampened by the strong possibility of major increases in postal fees.

Still, in a report to the Magazine Publishers Association, Mr. Kobak cited several optimistic portents. At long last, he said, there are signs that publishers are beginning "to re-examine their basic operating philosophies. They are asking themselves, 'Where do we go from here?'" These re-assessments are part of a general ferment that is apparent throughout the magazine business.

One sign of it is in the format changes that *Life*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, and other magazines

undertook in 1961. Up to now, the changes have mainly involved graphics but to some extent the editorial content also has been revitalized.

While the established magazines in some cases were changing their formats, a spate of new magazines made an appearance. During the fall of 1961 about two dozen magazines either appeared for the first time or announced that they would make their debut. Significantly, all of the new publications were aimed at specialized audiences rather than mass readerships. The new magazine publishers generally have priced their publications at a considerably higher level than the mass magazines in an effort to get the reader to pay his way again.

Many new publishers base their thinking on a sort of "life-span" theory of magazine publishing. According to their theory, magazines arise to serve a specific need or trend of the times. When this need is filled they fade away. Hence the decline of the old *American Mercury* of H. L. Mencken or the muck-raking magazines like *McClure's*. Significantly, the two most prominent magazines that apparently have survived their "life cycles" — *Ladies Home Journal* and the *Saturday Evening Post* — are those that now are in the worst trouble.

The mass magazine publishers, however, refuse to be counted out. James Linen, president of Time, Inc., emphatically deplores the idea that mass magazines have seen their best days. He acknowledges that *Life's* profits have been seriously eroded in recent years, but predicts that the magazine again will become highly profitable within the next year or so. Moreover, according to Mr. Linen, a number of important potential cost reductions are on the horizon — new methods of reducing paper costs and lowering distribution expenses.

No doubt, those who foresee doom for mass magazines are vastly overstating their case. But it is now apparent that the ranks of the mass-circulation magazines will continue to thin. Meanwhile the spectrum of special-interest magazines will continue to fill out and a whole new group of high-priced, high-quality publications will come into being.

The struggle for survival

By the last editor of Coronet

In his article, Mr. Gillenson draws upon his experience to describe the decisions and attitudes that have led to illness and mortality among mass magazines. The author, who is still an employee of Esquire, Inc., which published Coronet, served earlier as managing editor of Cosmopolitan, an associate editor of Look, and as a writer for such mass magazines as American, McCall's, and Redbook.

By LEWIS W. GILLENSON

For almost longer than it is fashionable to remember, the term "fabulous invalid" referred to the American theater. Today in bistros where Madison Avenue types grip the glass hard and talk hard talk of publishing, the new "fabulous invalid" is the American mass magazine. A distinction between patients deserves to be made, however; the former suffers from lingering illnesses while the latter is susceptible to sudden collapses.

Nowadays the financial hypertension of the industry precludes lengthy hovering over the patient. Crowell-Collier's here-again-gone-again tantalizations, when its president, Paul C. Smith, kept borrowing, issuing daily bulletins, and plain hoping, will probably never happen again. Once the word leaks out that the magazine is suffering, the avalanche begins. Gossip rises, media men start running. The resulting fall-off in advertising pages is so quick, the losses so staggering, that publishers find it practical to close shop at once.

I speak from experience, having recently been engaged in the task of writing adieu to *Coronet* magazine almost on the day when it completed its twenty-fifth year, when critics spoke well of its editorial merits, when advertisers had just paid into its coffers in one year more than four million dollars, and

when its circulation stood at 3,200,000 — a heady figure even in this era of the "numbers game." *Coronet* was the fourteenth largest magazine in America when it died. The conditions that caused the disaster applied equally to magazines long since departed — and to those who will soon quit the struggle. And let not delusion becloud truth; unless conditions change radically, more magazines will go.

"With all that circulation," they ask, "how could it have happened?"

Turn the question into a declarative sentence and you almost have the answer: "Because of all that circulation, that's how it happened."

Too many magazines have a habit of equating size with strength — as spurious a standard as equating weight with punch in boxing. Sometimes, in fact, the superdreadnaught, exchanging mobility for bulk, trades away its best weapon. Remember *Collier's*, four million when it died; *Today's Woman*, two and one half million; *Woman's Home Companion*, four million; *American*, almost three million.

Follow for a moment the inverted logic of magazine publishing. A publisher makes his commitment for the year, sets his editorial standards, pays heavily to produce the product, "guarantees" advertisers a minimum sale of so many copies, sets advertising ratios and a cover price. Then he unleashes his promotional drummery — presentation staff, buckets of money for the back pages of *The New York Times* and other newspapers around the country supposedly

read by literate media buyers and their wives, and, finally, his phalanx of space salesmen. Each of them is aware of the space budget. To make ends meet, exhorts the ad manager, we need a minimum of, let's say, 800 pages.

Thus far all is clear reality. The circulation manager delivers the numbers. For example, let's assume that for a guaranteed circulation of 4,000,000 he carries 3,200,000 in subscriptions and 950,000 on the newsstand. The newsstand is sweet profit and the extra 150,000 is the cushion, the advertiser's bonus. The subscriptions for the most part are costly. But they do have the virtue of assurance. Once you have signed up a reader he is with you for the duration of his contract even if he decides you have turned dull, dreary, or dangerously radical. Few cancel. At cut-rate prices (twenty-three issues of your weighty 35-cent four-color opus for \$2.87) how much would they get bac'?

Other factors have been estimated into that "must" 800-ad-page budget: salaries, the cost of paper, mailing, printing, rent. All goes well until there is a paper increase — sudden and unnegotiable. Still, the 800 pages might cover. Then the newsstand sale drops. The circulation guarantee absolutely must be met; failure is a devastating sign of weakness. Immediately, the promotion is increased; it's costly, but necessary. If it produces tepid results, the going gets hot; the luring bargain mailings go out in avalanches. If the return is 3 per cent, great. If, more practically, 1.5 per cent, it begins to cost. If the returns are still shy there is yet another method — the field sellers. These are those curious personalities of folklore who for generations have been "work-

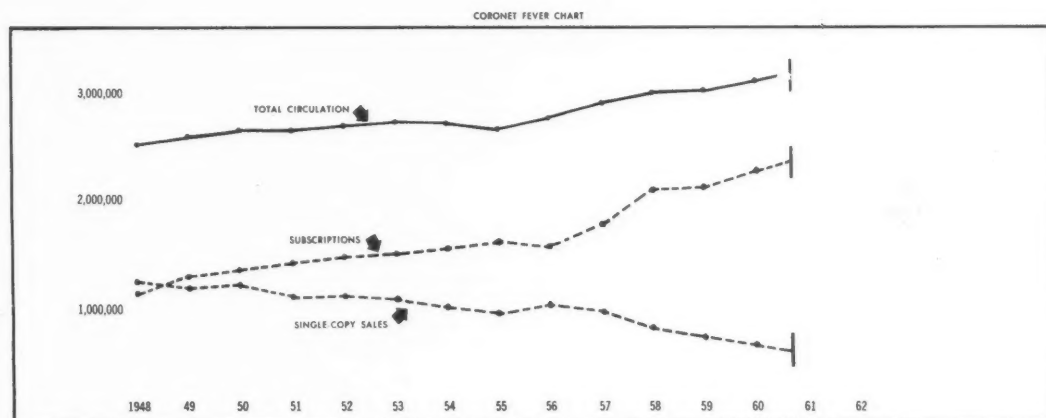
ing their way through college." They do get orders and the magazine gets subscribers — but a pitiful dribble of money.

Through these machinations — and a few more intricate and ingenious ones — the guarantee is met. All breathe easier for a while, until the space reports come in. Sales are falling short and will result in only 700, not 800, ad pages. Why the drop? Call it pressure from competitors, fad changes, recession, shifts to television; you name it, the ad manager has an answer. The missing 100 pages — at a hypothetical \$15,000 a page — represent a gross million and a half dollars that no divinity can recover that year. If the magazine is lucky and postal rates have not risen it is still a million and a half behind. There is little it can do to cut back. By contract, it is stuck with its cut-rate subscribers. If it cuts the pages in the book, the color, the editorial staff, the quality, the newsstand promotion, it risks losing the readers it has. If it cuts the ad staff and those swollen expense accounts it loses more pages. What to do? It just suffers, goes into more cut-rate selling, and hopes the tide will pass and the advertising dollars will return next year. If they don't, another magazine sinks.

Contemplate the cost of a subscription. A giant weekly publisher begs you to sign up for a year with an enticing "9¢ per copy" offer. The magazine sells weekly on the newsstand for 25 cents. The following are, roughly, average costs to the publisher: production, 40 cents; mailing, 4 cents; fulfillment, billing, delinquency, 3 cents. Total, 47 cents. In all, the magazine is behind 38 cents an issue on subscriptions, or about \$20 for the year. Multiply this figure by three million, a reasonable estimate of the number

Coronet's fever chart: 1948-1961

large magazines: declining newsstand sales and rising (and costly) subscriptions:



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of cut-rate subscribers a big magazine might carry, and you begin to get an idea of the deficit that must be made up by advertising. In 1961 advertisers contributed \$837,000,000 to magazines, yet even this amount was not enough.

A banker friend of mine trumpeted like a circuit rider flushing out the Devil: "Damned if I'd put my money in mass magazine publishing. Why, if bankers acted toward bankers as publishers act toward publishers, all you would see would be bankrupt banks."

He was referring to the internecine bitterness that erupted openly (again in *The New York Times* at \$5,000 a shot) between *McCall's* and the *Ladies' Home Journal*. It began when the well-endowed *McCall's* management, flushed with its success in passing the *Journal* in advertising, announced that in 1962 it would deliver eight million circulation an issue. The Curtis management, which publishes the *Ladies' Home Journal*, beset with miseries over the continued loss of revenue in its *Saturday Evening Post*, slurred the *McCall's* claims, and questioned the validity of the new million, offering dark and ugly prophecies that the "numbers race" was a race to the poorhouse. The facts explain the fear. Curtis, admitting losses of more than \$11,000,000 the first nine months of 1961, would now have to pour out millions more to get circulation if it intended to keep up with the onrushing *McCall's*.

Who is to blame for the mad race for numbers and how did it all start? It began soon after the war and fear activated it. The fear was that of the darkening cloud of television. Aware that the new medium would inevitably add devotees by the millions, the publishers began adding subscribers to hold off the newcomer. A few sad years have demonstrated the folly of this course. Magazine circulations rose; the advertising rate per thousand trailed along, but far below the costs engendered in getting the numbers. At the same time television, in huge kangaroo jumps, outdistanced magazines and the contest was really no contest. In fighting the numbers game the magazines, qualitative and select by nature, placed their readers on the same level with the uncritical, hit-or-miss audience of television. The bulk of the latter simply crushed the former. The worst of it was that advertisers were asked to equate the two, to compare cost-per-thousand and to neglect the unique value of print.

I know publishers who are hurt and bewildered at the advertisers' cavalier neglect of them. The diffi-

culty is that magazines have left it to advertising to exert leadership that should come from the publishers. Magazines sin against themselves when they pay court to advertising. Some magazines do not; they often prosper. But mass publishers have so extended themselves in circulation commitment that they cannot risk indifference. They need the advertising pages and they cannot wait.

It also must be noted that the advertising industry did not make the conditions of the courtship. Many of us on the editorial side cringed when the Curtis Publishing Company announced that the widely heralded new format of the *Saturday Evening Post* was being offered in advance to advertising agencies for their surveillance.

"Dammit," snapped one editor more in sympathy than in anger, "does the advertising industry submit layouts to me and ask me what I think of their creative efforts? Would they dare play a record of those ghastly inside-the-belly TV commercials before my staff in advance of their airing them? When the *Post* went to the agencies with that dummy it went hat in hand and in those circumstances you never know whether they'll donate or spit."

Given the sword, the advertisers swung it. Those who liked the new *Post* were drowned out by the howlers. One can sympathize with the Curtis management. For ten years the *Post* had been losing advertising pages. Something had to be done. But was the problem all editorial? The *Post* consistently had newsstand sales almost double those of its competitors, *Life* and *Look*. One once assumed that this kind of voluntary purchase was an excellent index of the viability of a magazine. The *Post* had built its subscription circulation out of a minimum rather than a maximum policy of bargain selling. It had never resorted to the policy of swelling its circulation figures with the subscribers of perished magazines. All good signs of a stable loyal readership, one would think — and to the best of anyone's knowledge, advertising surveys showed that the *Post* audience bought the merchandise advertised in its pages.

Why then the promotional hysteria concerning the new format? Doubtlessly the editors believed that some changes were needed. Magazines, being living institutions, must change. But, on the evidence, it did not seem that the hyperbole in advance of the change came out of readers' needs as much as the need to allure advertising.

Right here is where advertising's influence is most pernicious. Only the unknowing believe that the advertiser threatens the editor with demands for or

Who pays for a magazine?

This table offers an approximation of the amount contributed to a single copy of a mass magazine by the purchaser and by the advertiser. Copies-a-year figures are derived by multiplying frequency of issue by average paid circulation for the first six months of 1961. The three readers' prices — newsstand, subscription, and special — are based on current single-copy price, one-year subscription price, and current cut-rate offers. The advertiser's price is the result of dividing copies a year into total advertising revenue for 1961. The total price a copy is the sum of the normal subscription price and the advertiser price. It will be noted that in only two cases — *TV Guide* and *Reader's Digest* — did the reader contribute more than the advertiser to the total price.

	COPIES A YEAR (MILLIONS)	READER	ADVERTISER	TOTAL
TV GUIDE	390	15¢ 10¢ 8¢	4¢	14¢
LIFE	360	20¢ 11¢ 10¢	38¢	49¢
SATURDAY EVENING POST	340	20¢ 12¢ 6¢	26¢	38¢
LOOK	172	20¢ 15¢ 8¢	37¢	52¢
READER DIGEST	157	35¢ 33¢ 17¢	26¢	59¢
TIME	138	25¢ 14¢ 7¢	34¢	48¢
McCALL'S	83	35¢ 25¢ 18¢	45¢	70¢
LADIES HOME JOURNAL	82	35¢ 29¢ 13¢	33¢	62¢
NEWSWEEK	79	25¢ 12¢ 8¢	32¢	44¢
EVERYWOMAN'S FAMILY CIRCLE	70	10¢	20¢	30¢

against a certain pet subject. The advertising industry is too grown up to attempt it too often. (Witness *The New Yorker*. No magazine is so indifferent to such threats and none is so richly rewarded by the advertising trade.)

The true deleterious influence of advertising begins with publishing policy, with the huge circulation commitment and with the resulting dependence on fat advertising schedules. The business manager of the magazine is in effect saying, "Sure, we've got a great editorial product, but if we don't get the advertising pages we won't be here to tell the tale." The implied suggestion — somehow we please the advertiser first and the reader will take care of himself — becomes a reversal of editorial principle.

I state with the conviction of experience that editors are seldom corrupted by such "hard facts." But the psychic energy given to the problem, the nervousness surrounding it, and the huge and wavering stakes can't help but divert the editor from his task. Again it is but proper to repeat that the publishers must bear the blame.

To explain why they became involved in the numbers game, beyond the fear of television, would take a psychologist even more than a financier. Egos are

involved. The value placed on bigness in America is a by-product of our vestigial frontier mentality. To keep growing is a status symbol in the business community. To be "passed" by the competition is to be resisted as a besmirchment. Number one is rewarded economically, number two less so, and number three punished. This is the nature of competition in American industry, in the auto business, in cosmetics — and in the publishing business. Knock out a competitor and you get his business.

Perhaps so. But perhaps not. Knock out magazines this way and the industry loses its luster; the rock-strong institution of publications built on tradition, experience, and unique personality is reduced to the level of a fad. A half dozen years ago the weekly supplements were "hot." Now they are "cold" and suffering. During our last big housing boom the "shelter" magazines were fat and prosperous. They are now thin and ailing. Soon after the war the "general monthlies" were marked as shaky; one went out of business, another cut back its circulation and gave itself an unsteady lease on life, a third changed its personality to accommodate advertisers.

There may be arguments for or against the qualities displayed by each of those publications in its

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lifetime. But the fact remains that not one of them gave up or changed because readers found them wanting. Advertising fads changed. The books were so heavily burdened with expensive circulation built to attract advertising that they simply had to change or quit.

Do we see signs of sanity? The most encouraging sign is that the industry is openly discussing its own absurdity. Intelligent and worried publishers are beginning to suggest that perhaps the Audit Bureau of Circulations — the self-regulating body of publishers and advertisers — make new circulation rules. A beginning step might be a rule to the effect that a subscriber not be counted unless he purchases the magazine at a realistic price. This would cause a drop in overall circulation. But why worry, providing your competitor abides by the same rule? Maybe the advertiser can be schooled to think of people who want and read the magazine rather than superfluous millions who take it because it's too cheap to turn down.

Being "too cheap to turn down" is anything but a proud tag for a magazine. It demeans the reader who loves the publication, who selects it over all others, who quotes it, believes it, who feels it part of his life. One of those is equal to ten of the others. By a Gresham's law of publishing, that real reader is inevitably driven out by the counterfeit ten.

A reawakening to the value of magazines must be rekindled in the people who publish them. When they recognize that their own magazine is treated as an imperishable friend, (as I discovered when *Coronet* folded and when dozens of people offered to send me, as gifts, cherished first issues that they had saved for twenty-five years) it will become that much less feasible to give it away so cheaply.

Despite the financial grimness of the magazine industry, the individual reader has never had it so good. The editorial content he can get, in my opinion, has never been better. Just think of *Life* with its superb "History of Western Culture" series, its

"World Around Us" articles, the *Post* with its "Adventures of the Mind" pieces, *McCall's* with its stunning graphics program.

It is encouraging to see the emergence of new small magazines, to note that *Harper's*, *The Atlantic*, *The Reporter*, *Saturday Review*, *Scientific American*, and of course *The New Yorker*, as well as many others, are making ends meet nicely. Perhaps this suggests the direction of the trend. The rush toward bigness will kill off all but the few biggest. The smaller, the unique, the embodiment of what magazines really are, will find for themselves small but sheltered nooks.

For bigger publishers, facing up to fact means the concession that competition for reader time is formidable but not necessarily defeating. Television takes time away. So do millions of varied, inexpensive pocket books. In these — the realm of the general and generalized — mass publishers will have it hard. The bulk of new advertising money will keep going into television. That is why it is folly to keep swelling the numbers; the cost-per-thousand gets out of hand. After TV has taken its share, there will not be enough to go around to enough big magazines. Television will win this battle.

But when a magazine skillfully exploits its own individuality, it offers a product impossible to copy. Such a product can be sold profitably. An intelligent publisher will return the profits where they belong — to the editorial effort — to build a richer and stronger magazine. Here, not in numbers, rests the future of magazines.

The loss of a magazine is an irrevocable fact. Whatever it performed editorially will never be performed quite the same gain. One is returned to the memories of *Collier's*, the *Companion*, *American*, and many more; they bring out the Monday-morning quarterback in an editor as he rehashes all the decisions that made the difference between life and death. And *Coronet* comes to mind; the condolences still pour in and too many times one is tempted to rehearse all the particular whys and maybes.

Of course it is futile and therefore to be suppressed. A magazine is gone. It should rest peacefully, though its last editor never will.

Mr. Gillenson has edited an anthology of material drawn from Coronet. Its title is Fabulous Yesterday: Coronet Magazine's 25th Anniversary Album; it is published by Harper & Brothers.

The appeal to responsibility

I DECIDED THAT THE WORLD WAS TOO MUCH WITH ME AND THAT I NEEDED A PERIOD OF WITHDRAWAL AND REFLECTION



SO I LET MY SUBSCRIPTIONS TO "TIME" AND "THE REPORTER" LAPSE



IN THE BEGINNING THEY BOTH TOOK IT VERY WELL. "TIME" SENT ME SEVERAL REMINDERS ON THE DUTY OF THE PUBLIC TO REMAIN INFORMED. "THE REPORTER" SENT ME AN ESSAY BY DE TOCQUEVILLE ON THE AMERICAN CONSCIENCE.



BUT AFTER A FEW WEEKS THE MAIL GOT HEAVIER. "TIME" LECTURED ME ABOUT APATHY IN THIS YEAR OF PERIL. "THE REPORTER" WROTE THAT THEY COULD NO LONGER IGNORE MY DELIBERATE ABSTENTION FROM CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY

I THOUGHT THE BEST TACTIC WAS NOT TO ANSWER, BUT THIS SEEMED TO AROUSE THEM MORE. "TIME" SENT ME A NUMBER OF STATESMANLIKE MESSAGES FROM MR. LUCE - ABOUT INDIVIDUALISM. "THE REPORTER" BEGAN SENDING TWO ISSUES A WEEK AND REGULAR WARNINGS ABOUT THE COLLAPSE OF LIBERALISM



BY THE SECOND MONTH I HAD TO HIRE A SECRETARY TO HANDLE THE FLOOD OF MAIL. "TIME" WARNED THAT SOON ALL MIGHT BE LOST AND IT WOULD BE MY FAULT. "THE REPORTER" SENT ME THE COLLECTED WORKS OF JUSTICE FRANKFURTER AND AN URGENT APPEAL TO THINK.



IN A PANIC I BEGAN SEEKING THEIR MERCY I WROTE THEM THAT I COULDN'T RE-SUBSCRIBE BECAUSE OF ILLNESS IN MY FAMILY AND SEVERE FINANCIAL LOSSES IN THE PAST YEAR

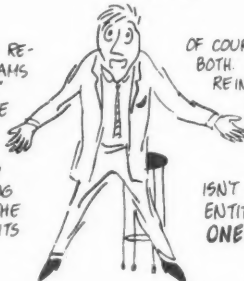


"THE REPORTER" SENT ME ITS VIEWS ON SOCIALIZED MEDICINE. "TIME" WARNED THAT IT COULD NO LONGER BE CONSIDERED RESPONSIBLE FOR MY ACTIONS

THEN THE CUBAN SITUATION BLEW UP



THE NEXT MORNING I RECEIVED TWO TELEGRAMS. THE ONE FROM "TIME" SAID: "DON'T SAY WE DIDN'T WARN YOU." THE ONE FROM "THE REPORTER" BLAMED ME FOR EVERYTHING AND ASKED FOR THE RETURN OF ALL ITS LETTERS.



OF COURSE I CALLED THEM BOTH. "TIME" AGREED TO REINSTATE ME. "THE REPORTER" HUNG UP WHEN THEY HEARD MY NAME.

ISN'T A MAN ENTITLED TO ONE MISTAKE?

Jules Feiffer in "Boy, Girl, Boy, Girl." (Random House)

BROADCASTING

Local "blackouts" on public-affairs television

One of the most generalized-about questions in the television industry is the problem of clearances — that is, acceptance by individual stations of programs offered by networks. It has been charged that station owners and managers are petty tyrants who line their pockets by keeping public-service programs from the public. Defenders of the stations picture the networks as monsters, force-feeding the stations. (The participants themselves, the networks and the stations, rarely use this kind of invective in their dealings.)

During 1961, another party entered the debate. The Federal Communications Commission gave aid and comfort to both sides. Its promises to examine public-service programming in renewing licenses have created pressure for greater acceptance of network offerings. But the FCC has also cut down and threatened to abolish "option-time" arrangements, which permit the network, by contract, to order affiliated stations to clear time for programs. At the recent hearings on network regulation, the FCC again leaned to the local side, when its counsel tried

to demonstrate that stations had little knowledge or control of network programs.

The particular question of acceptance of news and information shows was troubling the industry long before the arrival of Newton N. Minow's FCC. With increased emphasis since the quiz scandals of 1959, networks have tried to have their most prestigious work well displayed. Stations have hesitated to use such programs because they usually fail to attract mass audiences, even if they are sponsored. When they are unsponsored, the local outlets may be doubly reluctant.

The distribution of stations among America's cities adds still another complication. Only half of the 543 stations affiliated with networks are in cities with three or more stations — that is, enough to accommodate each major network. The rest are in one- and two-station communities, and are usually affiliated with at least two networks, occasionally three. The networks, therefore, must compete for time not only with paid-for local and syndicated programs, but with each other.

What happens? In *Saturday Review*, Richard L. Tobin charged that stations deliberately avoid quality programming. He cited the case of a commercially sponsored production of *Macbeth*, which failed to appear in 30 of 125 markets to which it was offered.

Does this kind of blackout afflict news and information efforts? Is the minority of interested viewers given a fair chance to see such programs? To find out, *Columbia Journalism Review* obtained from the three major networks their lists of clearances for fourteen information programs* broadcast during January, 1962. To assure that the programs were highly regarded in the industry, they were chosen from those advertised in magazines by the Television Information Office, an enterprise of the National Association of Broadcasters. They did not,

*Information was gathered on the following:

Five programs offered by the networks on Sunday, without sponsors: "Adlai Stevenson Reports" alternating with "Editors' Choice" (ABC), "Issues and Answers" (ABC), "Meet the Press" (NBC), and "Washington Conversation" (CBS).

Six regularly scheduled, sponsored programs in late afternoon or evening time: "David Brinkley's Journal" (NBC), "CBS Reports," "Expedition" (ABC), "Eyewitness" (CBS), "Chet Huntley Reporting" (NBC), and "Twentieth Century" (CBS).

Three specially scheduled programs, all sponsored: "Beyond the Threshold" (NBC, January 5), "Close-Up: The Great Conversation" (ABC, January 30), and "Projection '62" (NBC, January 5).

by any means, comprise the whole of network information programs for the month, but they did represent a broad sample.

The crude result of the survey was:

A typical station turned down an average of one in four programs offered to it. Or, taken as a group, the stations failed to broadcast about 500 of 2,000 offerings. The figure rises to about 27 per cent, instead of 25, when the fifteen stations owned by the networks (which carried all offerings) are subtracted.

Less roughly, there were variations from program to program that ranged from 45 per cent to 90-plus per cent acceptance. All the Sunday interview programs had tough going. The CBS "Washington Conversation" was carried by fewer than half of the 203 CBS stations. Even the venerable "Meet the Press," with provision for local sponsorship, lost out on more than 40 stations.

Nor did all the sponsored programs have clear sailing. ABC and NBC had considerable success in clearing the way for special programs — "Close-Up," "Beyond the Threshold," and "Projection '62." But those requiring week-after-week commitments had more spotty acceptance. "CBS Reports," "Chet Huntley Reporting," and "David Brinkley's Journal" ran into reluctance that ranged from 25 to 27 per cent of the stations.

More indicative variations, though, were those from station to station and city to city. In the one- and two-station cities, the pattern ranged from high acceptance to almost total rejection. Ft. Myers, Florida (one station), and Eugene, Oregon (two stations), for example, accepted most of what was offered. At the other end, the two Augusta (Georgia) stations turned down ten of thirteen programs. The most negative individual station was WLWD, in Dayton, Ohio (owned by the Crosley Broadcasting Corporation), which refused eight of nine programs offered to it by NBC and ABC.

These variations in the smaller cities were to be expected, for their stations are subject to the competition for time described above. But the surprising thing the survey revealed was the spottiness of clearances in the larger cities. This is most strikingly shown in a comparison of cities where the three networks' Sunday interview programs are offered to stations. The following three-station areas failed to see two of the three: Amarillo, Buffalo, Denver, Las Vegas, Milwaukee, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Mobile-Pensacola, Oklahoma City, Spokane, and Tulsa. Cities were better covered in the evening shows.

The survey does not, of course, cover fully the stations' reasons for refusing programs, and there

should not be an assumption that the substitute for the network program was necessarily inferior.

The information that the stations gave back to the network when refusing clearance tended to be scanty. The notation was usually, if anything, "local programming" or "time change." In the survey, a few also refused because of commercial conflicts. Some NBC stations did not want "Projection '62," which was sponsored by Gulf, to abut evening news broadcasts sponsored by other oil companies. Others offered inferior times for rebroadcast and were turned down by the network or the sponsor. Even so, there were cases of stations that delayed sponsored information programs until they could rebroadcast them in the place of unsponsored network programs. Finally, there were a few cases that were basically the fault of the networks. "Meet the Press" and the CBS "Twentieth Century" competed and "Meet the Press" lost nine stations.

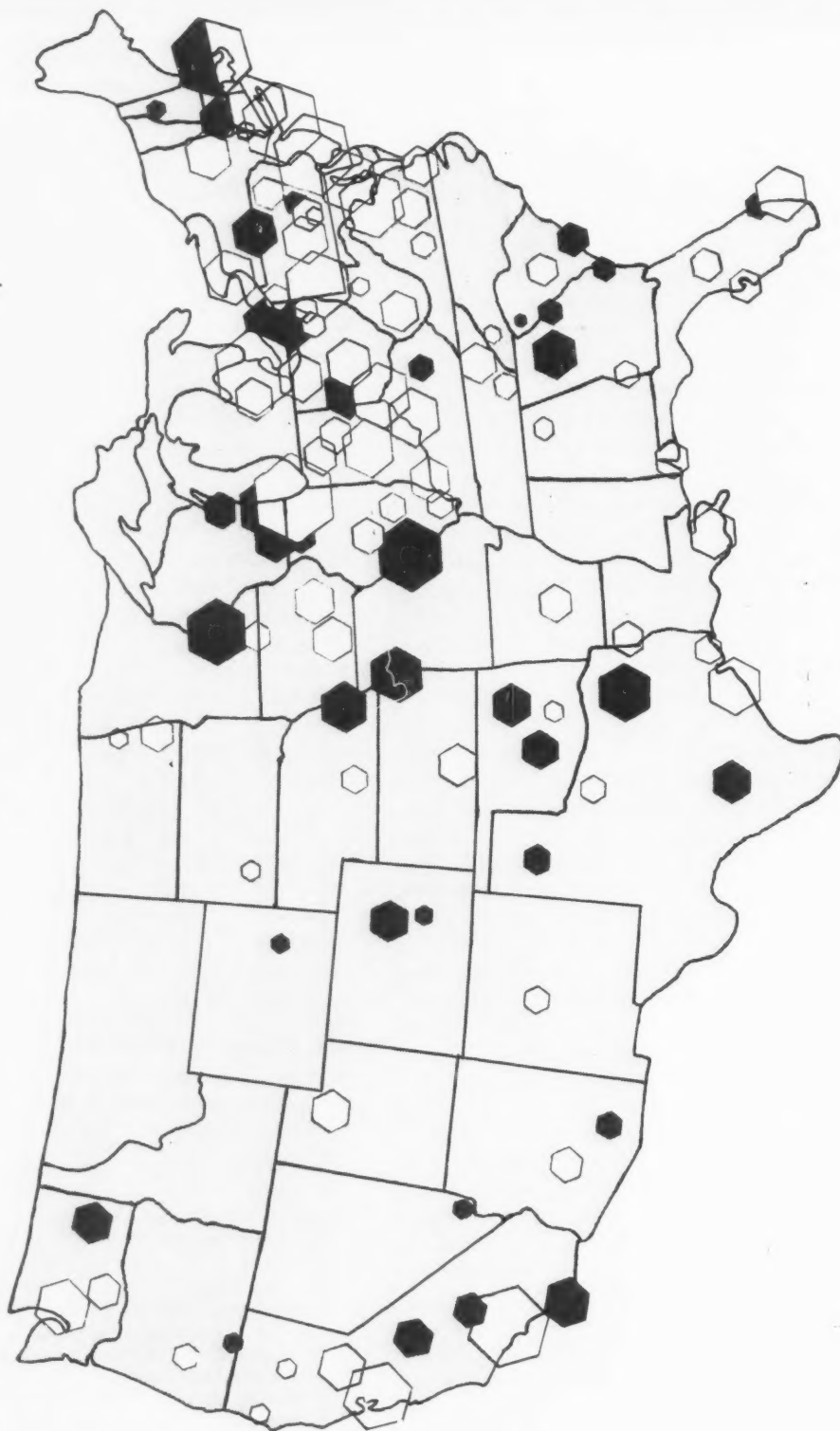
Any such survey as this is likely to cast the weight of accusation on the local stations. Except in a few rather clear cases, no such conclusion is merited, least of all a general characterization of local managers as despots. The whole question is in one sense as simple as the relation between a newspaper and a wire service or a syndicate, and in another as complicated as the Constitutional questions of federal and state rights. If stations acted rigidly on either the syndicate or local-rights ideas, acceptance would probably be much lower.

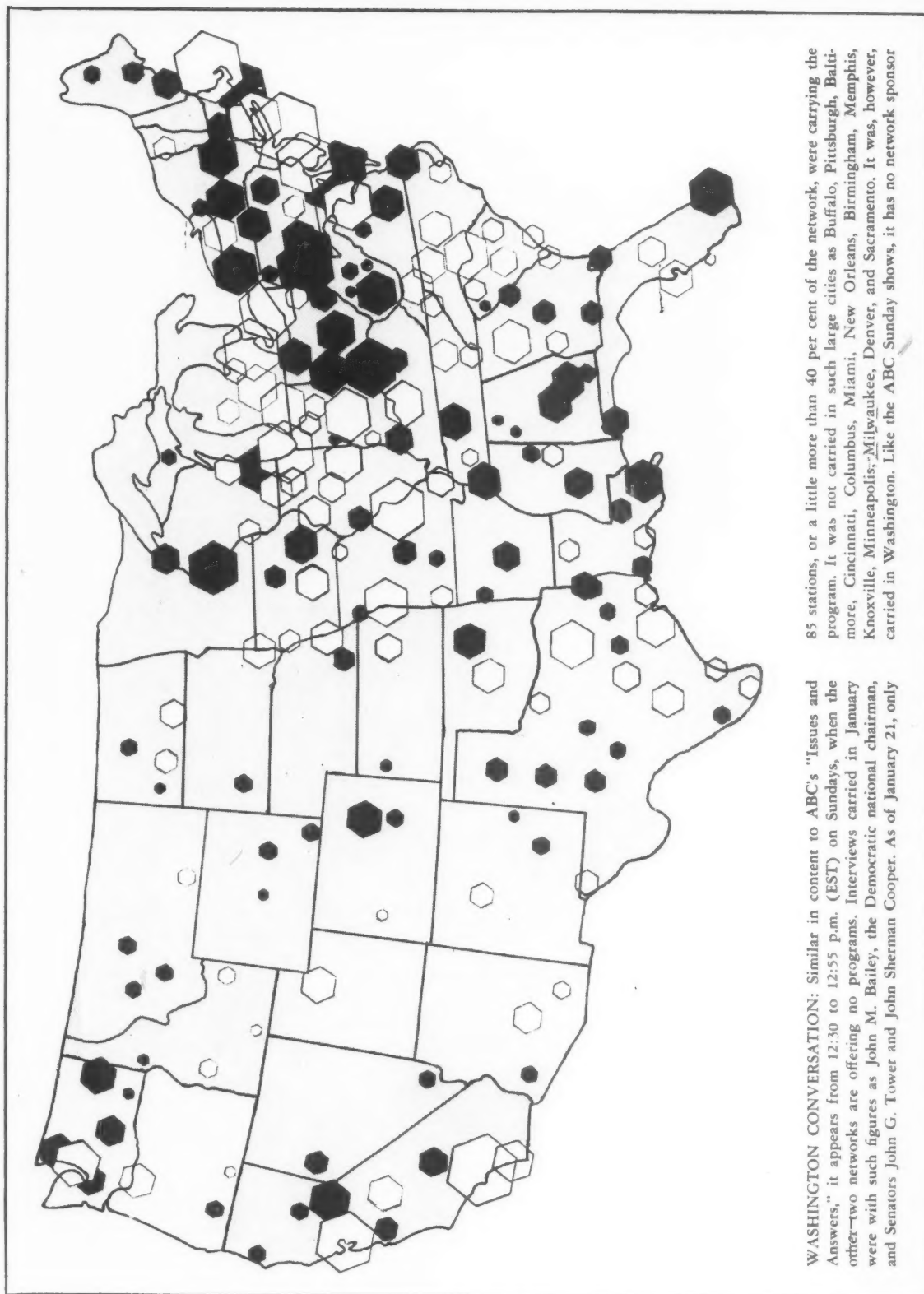
What is clear is that there is material that the television industry itself feels is meritorious that is not being seen or judged by viewers in many parts of the country. Because this is a time of high profits in nearly all television markets, there must be at least a suspicion that many stations could afford more material that might not help the balance sheets. Indeed, there is evidence that the situation is improving. Executives of both CBS and ABC have said in recent weeks that their news and public-affairs broadcasts are being seen more widely than in previous years. The *Review* will return to the subject in a future issue to ascertain whether the trend continues.

On the next six pages are maps showing the stations that carried six of the programs included in the survey — three Sunday interview programs and an hour-long, sponsored broadcast from each network. Stations that broadcast the programs are shown in outline; those that did not are in black. The size of the symbol is proportionate to audience size, not to the geographical area covered by the stations.

ISSUES AND ANSWERS: This interview program is presented by ABC from 4 to 4:30 (EST) Sunday as a segment of two and a half hours of unsponsored public-service programming. Its guests in January included Chester Bowles, the House majority and minority leaders, and the Deputy Secretary of Defense. ABC offered it to 115 stations, of which 38 (or 22 per cent) turned it down.

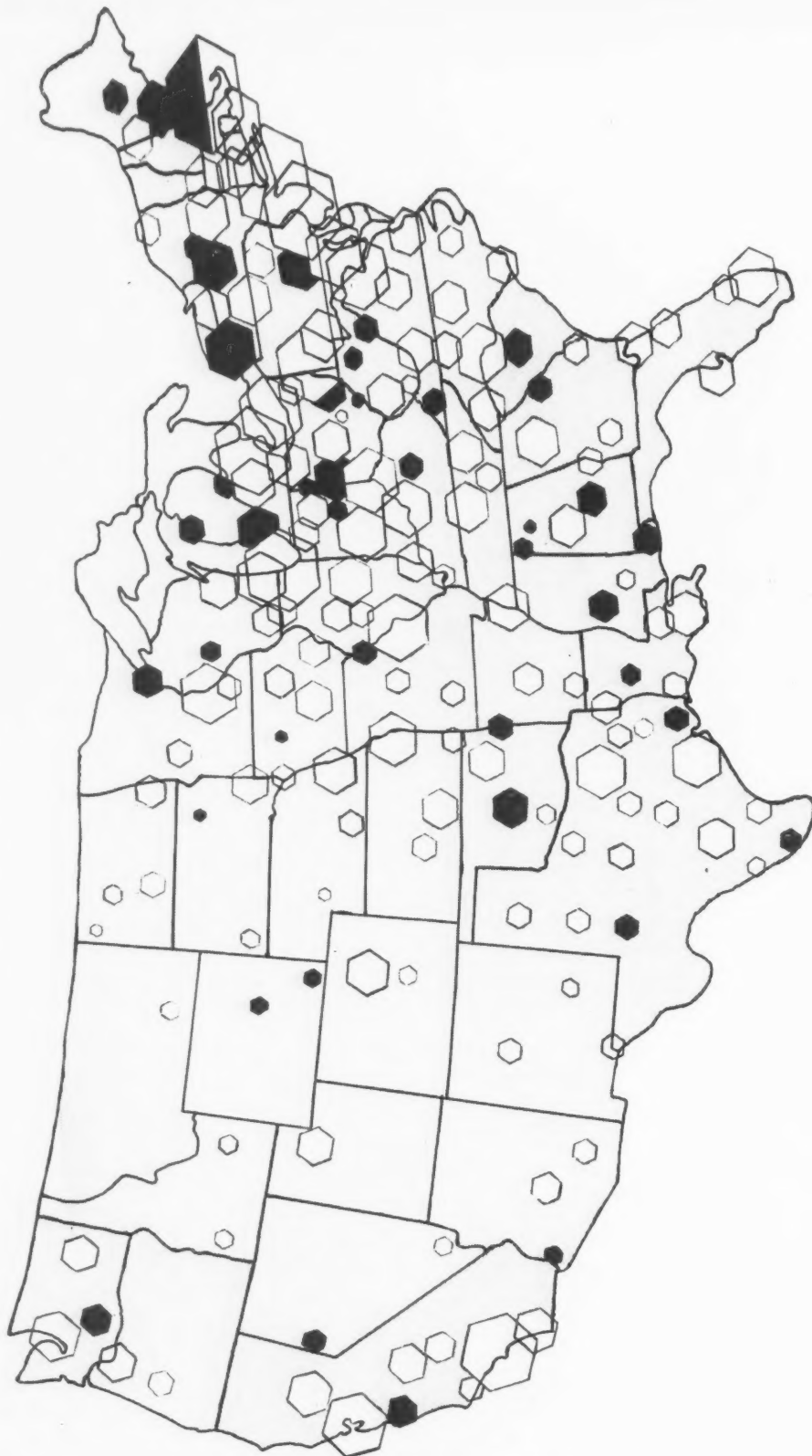
These included 21 ABC-only stations in such major cities as St. Louis, Minneapolis, Cleveland, Dallas, and Atlanta. In Boston, the ABC affiliate refused the program, but it was broadcast by the educational station, WGBH. In smaller cities, the program competed for station time with the CBS "Wonderful World of Golf," and, until January 25, various post-season football games on NBC

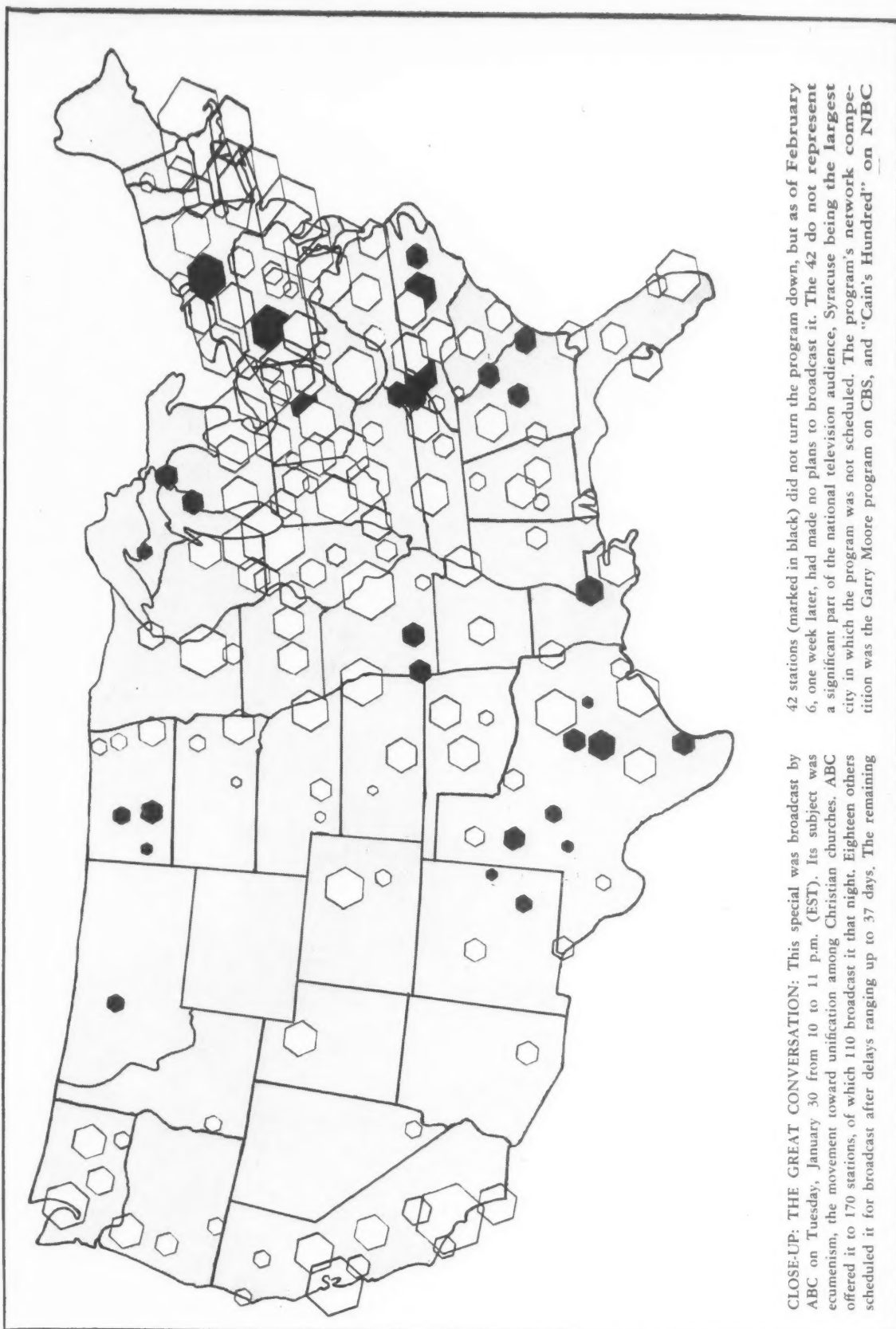




MEET THE PRESS: This pioneer among news-conference programs is presented by NBC from 6 to 6:30 (EST) Sunday evening. Although it has no network sponsors, it allows for local sponsorships. NBC offered it in January to 177 stations, of which 43 (or 24 per cent) turned it down. The program was, however, seen in more large urban areas than the other two interview shows. (Like

"Issues and Answers," it was rejected by the Boston affiliate and broadcast later by another Boston station.) It found heavy going in the smaller markets, losing nine stations to another well-established (and fully sponsored) information program, the CBS "Twentieth Century." It also overlapped the last half hour of ABC's "Wide World of Sports," which has participating network sponsors



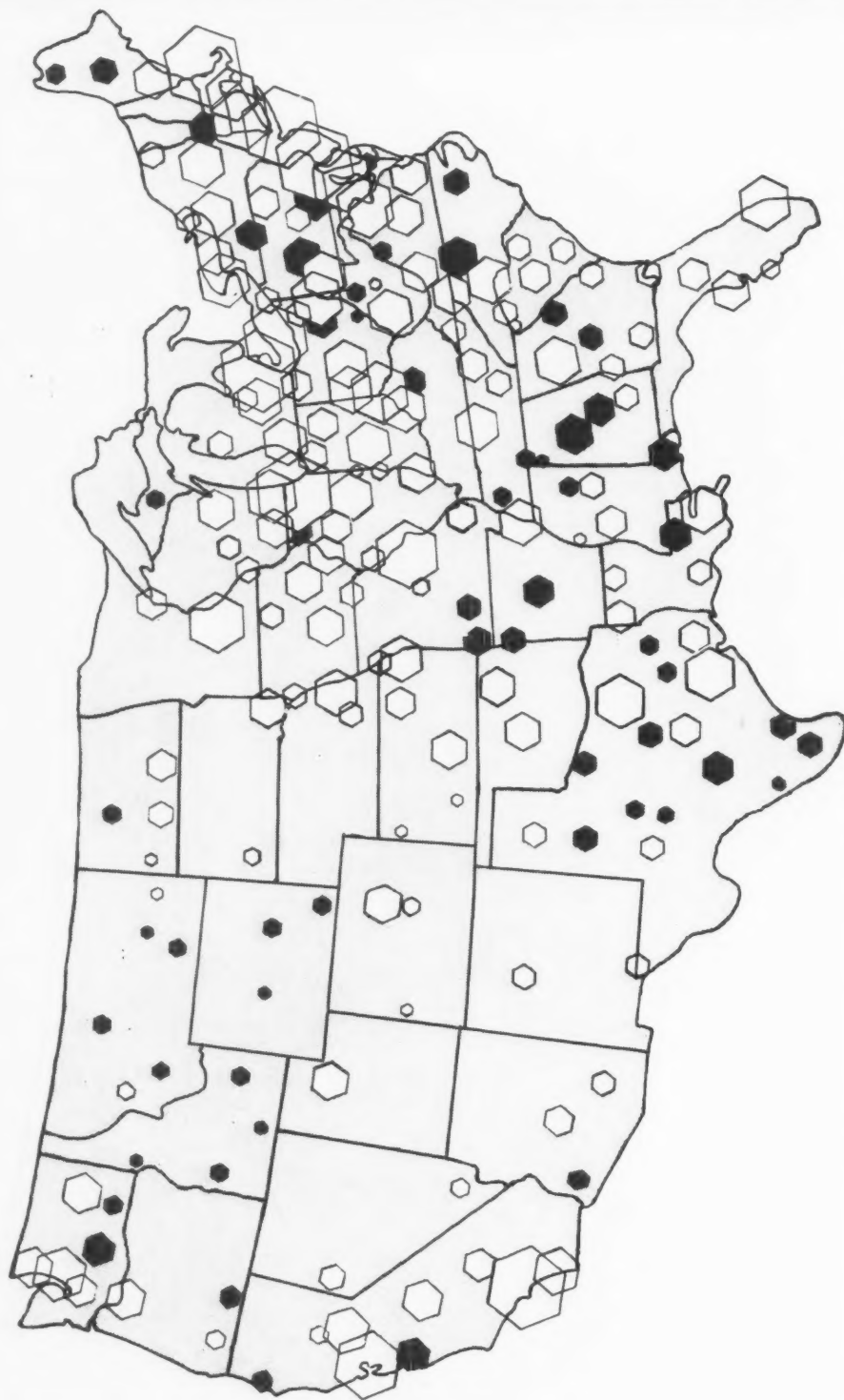


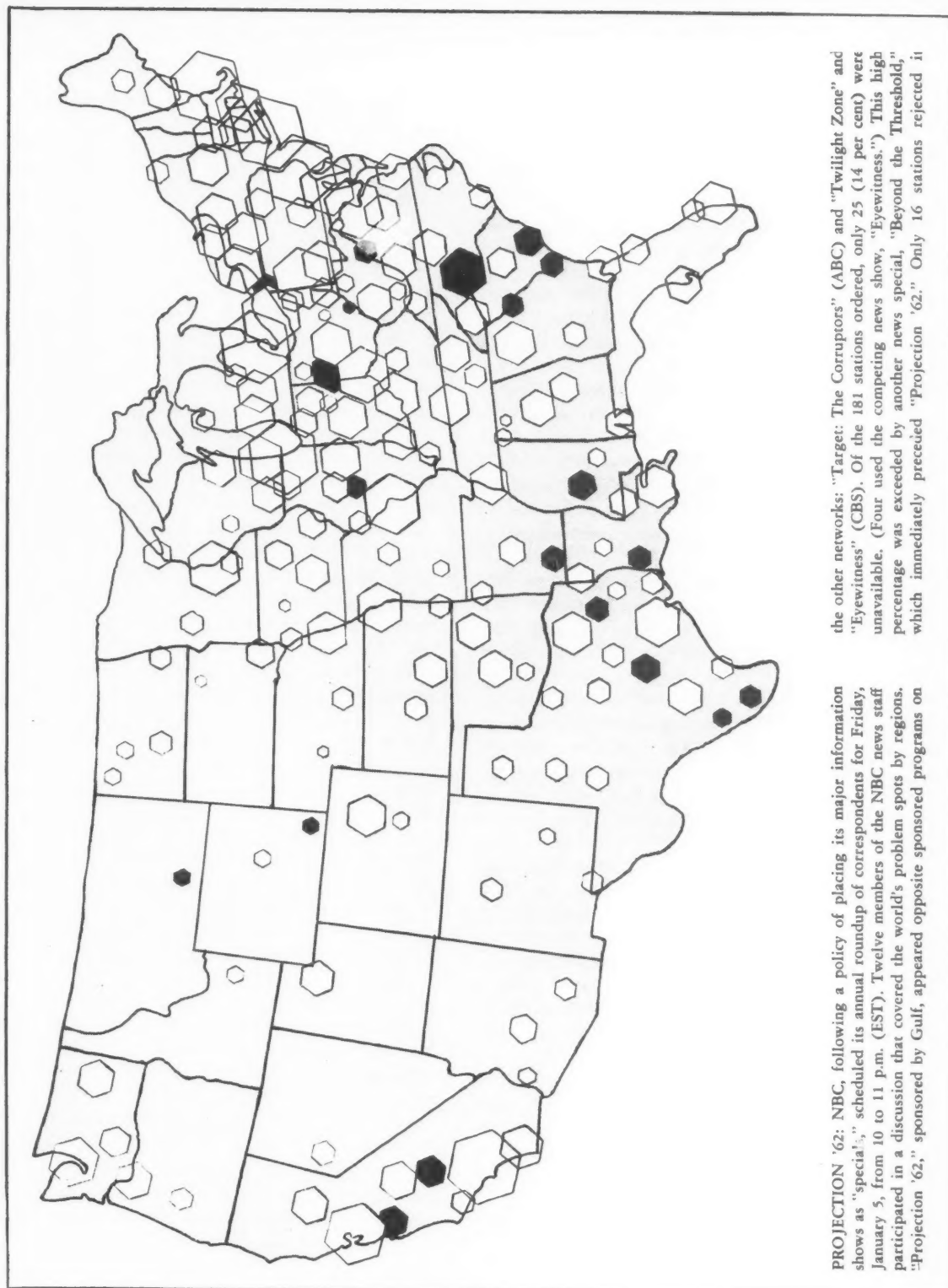
42 stations (marked in black) did not turn the program down, but as of February 6, one week later, had made no plans to broadcast it. The 42 do not represent a significant part of the national television audience, Syracuse being the largest city in which the program was not scheduled. The program's network competition was the Garry Moore program on CBS, and "Cain's Hundred" on NBC

CLOSE-UP: THE GREAT CONVERSATION: This special was broadcast by ABC on Tuesday, January 30 from 10 to 11 p.m. (EST). Its subject was ecumenism, the movement toward unification among Christian churches. ABC offered it to 170 stations, of which 110 broadcast it that night. Eighteen others scheduled it for broadcast after delays ranging up to 37 days. The remaining

CBS REPORTS: This hour-long documentary program is the major exhibit in the network's policy of putting major information programs on a regular schedule in prime evening time. It appears on Thursdays from 10 to 11, occasionally alternating with "The Great Challenge." Its topics during January included East Germany, overweight, and the closing of two Los Angeles news-

papers. CBS offered it, with participating sponsors, to 196 stations, of which 59 (30 per cent) turned it down, a large number of these being in the South and the Northwest. Its network competition came from two popular entertainment shows—"The Untouchables" (ABC) and "Sing Along With Mitch" (NBC). Still, it held a major share of smaller stations in most parts of the country





the other networks: "Target: The Corruptors" (ABC) and "Twilight Zone" and "Eyewitness" (CBS). Of the 181 stations ordered, only 25 (14 per cent) were unavailable. (Four used the competing news show, "Eyewitness.") This high percentage was exceeded by another news special, "Beyond the Threshold," which immediately preceded "Projection '62." Only 16 stations rejected it

PROJECTION '62: NBC, following a policy of placing its major information shows as "specials," scheduled its annual roundup of correspondents for Friday, January 5, from 10 to 11 p.m. (EST). Twelve members of the NBC news staff participated in a discussion that covered the world's problem spots by regions. "Projection '62," sponsored by Gulf, appeared opposite sponsored programs on

On the local side

Television stations' acceptance or rejection of network information programs is but one measure of their performance. In August, 1961, Television magazine published the results of a survey that described local programming by 175 responding stations, or about one third of the country's commercial stations. The author of the article (excerpts below) was Richard K. Doan of the New York Herald Tribune.

Local television in the U. S., the product of over 500 commercial stations, is about to undergo some facelifting. It won't be so drastic as to produce a New Look. But it should be more in line with the wishes of TV's critics, most apparent in a concerted trend to more news, public affairs and educational programming.

In the surveyed week, May 7-13 (the week, incidentally, in which FCC Chairman Newton Minow made his now-celebrated "vast wasteland" speech), one station was on the air only 59 hours, another 142.26 hours.

One Texas ABC affiliate took only 30 hours of network programming; a three-network affiliate in the same state carried 103.50 hours of line-fed shows.

Three stations aired no movies at all (one of these said it would be starting them soon), while a West Coast independent logged 98 of its 122 hours with feature films.

Four stations originated no more than five hours each of local live programming during the week. Four others offered more than 30 hours each, one of them 41 hours.

Five stations programmed not more than one hour of local news each in the entire week, but nine others turned out more than seven hours apiece.

The emphasis of the hour was to be found in a tabulation of mentions of the types of programs in work: public affairs and information, 43 mentions; educational, 28; news, 17; live adult entertainment, 15; children's programs, 9; women's shows, 6; farm shows, 6; editorializing, 5; cultural shows, 5; syndicated series and sports, 3 each; special events, movies, exercise shows, and religion, 1 each.

The nitch seemingly is that much of the stations' do-good effort escapes general notice. A few public affairs specials, wonderful as they may be to critical

audiences, are snowed under in the public mind by the avalanche of stereotyped offerings.

A six-week slice of news broadcasters

One of the real difficulties in assessing broadcast news is its elusiveness. To collect any sizable amount of television and radio broadcasts requires either a gang of monitors and tape recorders or a painstaking gathering of transcripts.

That is why a volume published in December by the United States Senate Committee on Commerce is uniquely valuable. It contains an extraordinary slice of day-to-day coverage by four major networks — 434 broadcasts delivered over forty-three days, or 1,180 pages in all. The transcripts were collected as Part IV of a committee study, *Freedom of Communications*, which centered on the use of liberalized equal-time provisions in force during the 1960 campaign. Four networks were asked to submit their 15-minute national news broadcasts between September 26 and November 7, 1960. In response, they supplied transcripts or part transcripts of 122 television and 312 radio broadcasts.

Although the period covered was that of a national campaign, politics does not dominate the broadcasts. It was also a period of major international news — the turbulent session of the United Nations General Assembly attended by Khrushchev, Castro, and other heads of state; worsening relations with Cuba; the Congo crisis.

How well did the networks present news — as shown, at least, in these transcripts? Were they comprehensive? Were they impartial? Were they adult? The answers are mixed:

American Broadcasting Company: About two thirds of the ninety-two transcripts ABC submitted are from radio and television broadcasts by John Daly, who was running the network's news operation in this period. The remainder are from the news (as opposed to commentary) sections of Edward P. Morgan's evening radio program.

In print, Daly's radio and television broadcasts are pleasantly literate, sometimes a little wordy, and dependent on conventional resources, rather than independent network reporting. The range of

stories covered was adequate, but not outstanding. (Coverage by all programs was checked against standard lists of major events.)

Morgan, assisted by Marvin McIntyre, showed a knack for turning up important items omitted on other broadcasts, especially in economics. But occasionally such items seemed to displace others that should have been in the basic news diet. Here again the presentation was fluent.

Columbia Broadcasting System: CBS is sparsely represented (sixty-one transcripts and part transcripts). A much fairer appraisal could have been made if its morning and evening 15-minute round-ups had been made available. The work of its staff is shown through thirty-one Douglas Edwards evening television broadcasts, which include only part of the material from correspondents. The other broadcasts are from the Lowell Thomas radio show.

Edwards covered a good range of subjects, with much more telling detail than did the ABC broadcasts. His style was flat, but the most dispassionate among the broadcasters represented. The only really weak portions of his broadcasts were at the end — "the news that's yet to happen" — where he became involved in several misleading predictions, including one that Khrushchev would leave New York, two weeks before his actual departure.

Lowell Thomas is, of course, a pioneer broadcaster, and his news selection and presentation reflect the *ancien regime* in radio. He is more informal than Edwards, more given to personal preference in picking stories, more idiosyncratic in style. His view of the day's news is his own.

Mutual Broadcasting System: This network's submission of 133 radio transcripts was bountiful, but it raises a question: Was Mutual really doing any news broadcasting? Several of the programs — those of Dan Smoot and John T. Flynn in particular — scarcely made any pretense of being timely. Others — Fulton Lewis, Jr., and George Hamilton Combs, for example — did not try to be comprehensive.

The Mutual group also includes one or two daily programs that were presumably intended as straight news, Richard Rendell's morning broadcast was one. But the Mutual pattern overwhelmed even these efforts. These broadcasts offered news on more subjects than did the commentators, but the selection was erratic and rife with editorializing.

National Broadcasting Company: The network put on display in its 105 transcripts two of the best and one of the worst programs in the volume. (An unfortunate omission: Ray Henle's "Three-Star Extra," a pseudo-roundup evening broadcast for

which NBC's news division does not consider itself responsible.)

The team of Chet Huntley and David Brinkley looks very good — not so much because of its well-publicized informality and wit, but because of the basic soundness of its coverage. Strong points: Persistence in following a story (like the delayed results of the Brazilian election) until it was finished; a breadth in coverage that outdid any other television show in this collection; and attention to development of good features — for example, a segment on the drought in southern California.

The other good example was on radio — "World News Roundup," with Peter Hackes and alternates. One of its strong points was its seven-day-a-week schedule, which allowed it to cover stories (the UN vote on Communist China) that the five-day programs never handled.

The other side was Morgan Beatty's evening radio show, "News of the World." It was breathless, strained, and skimpy in factual content. The program devoted considerable time to what it called its "exclusives," which were often the result simply of magnifying obscure material or leaping at fragmentary rumors — such as its report early in November that Fidel Castro was under house arrest by Cuban Communists and taking dope.

In summary, the networks can be graded as follows on the basis of the evidence submitted:

ABC: Pleasant, light, superficial.

CBS: Very good to fair, a little leaden.

MBS: Bad journalism, if it was journalism.

NBC: Excellent to poor.

The true theme of the volume is the gap it reveals between old and new. The old tends to quirks (Lowell Thomas's use of one-word "slugs" to preface each story; Morgan Beatty's practice of starting a story, interrupting himself, and bringing in a correspondent), and to high tension, not always justified by the news content.

The newer style — as shown in Huntley-Brinkley, Morgan, and Daly — is on a different level. It aspires to civilized discourse, and often succeeds.

"Modern" broadcast news has been in existence at least twenty years. But there remained, as of the fall of 1960, old-fashioned practice: staccato false urgency, the burdening of commentators with lightly taken responsibilities for general news coverage, and interpretation that presented emotional reaction rather than additional fact or thought. There is room for both personal and impersonal journalism on the air. It is the mixture of the two, both labeled as news, that robs the listener. — J. B.

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POINTS OF CURRENT CONTROVERSY

I. JOURNALISM'S BERLIN CRISES

Throughout the second half of 1961 and well into 1962 the world has felt the strain of the dispute over the status of Berlin. If the first eight months of tension were to be measured graphically, the highs would certainly be marked in the weeks and months that followed the building of the wall across the city in mid-August. From that period, the Review presents below comment by journalists that hits sharply at the workings of the press in four of the areas most concerned — Germany, Western Europe, the United States, and the Soviet Union.

Clay's cocktail party

From Charles Collingwood's "WCBS-TV Views the Press," October 1, 1961:

A week ago Friday, General Lucius Clay, the President's special representative in Berlin, gave a cocktail party for the Berlin press corps. There he made some observations which, as reported by those present, appeared to mark a change in American policy. They certainly stirred up an unholy fuss:

"U.S. DECLARES 2 GERMANY'S MUST BARGAIN," said the [New York] *Daily News* over a special story following the cocktail party. "GERMANY: A SWITCH?" asked the *Mirror* over an AP story. "U. S. SOURCE ADVISES BONN TO TALK TO EAST GERMANY. HIGH OFFICIAL IN BERLIN SAYS THAT WEST GERMANS MUST RECOGNIZE REALITY OF EXISTENCE OF TWO STATES," said the *Times*, which ran a Reuters dispatch. These reports echoing around the world

started a rash of speculation, explanation, charge and countercharge . . .

Note that this whole brouhaha was created by the press. It wasn't caused by any white paper, *demarché*, *aide memoire* or any other form of diplomatic communication. It was caused by what the press said General Clay said at a cocktail party. The press thus finds itself — and not for the first time — a major factor in the determination of foreign policy.

How did it come about? Was Clay using the press for his ends, or was the press using General Clay? Washington officials, publicly and privately, insist that Clay was not trying to leak any change in American policy. Our anguished efforts to placate West German opinion would bear this out. The crack in Washington is that it wasn't a trial balloon but a Clay pigeon.

How then did Clay become a pigeon? . . . According to our man who was there, CBS news correspondent Dan Schorr, the ground rule at the Clay party was that anything he said could be used for background but not for attribution. That's a formulation perfectly familiar to all foreign correspondents, and indeed the AP and Reuters stories, which started the whole thing, did refer to him only as a "high American official." It was the West Berlin paper *Der Tagesspiegel* that revealed Clay's identity.

But how background is used depends on the correspondent, the paper, the kind of stories he's expected to write. You will note that the stories based on the Clay party that caused the commotion were wire service stories — AP and Reuters. . . . The special correspondents, some of them who were at the party, have been filling in the shades of Clay's meaning ever since — a process complicated by the fact that, as Gaston Coblentz of the *Herald Tribune* pointed out,

no one present took notes. Thus David Binder reported in the *Times*:

"The general's remarks were couched in a tone that was decidedly more speculative than that reflected in news accounts . . . The general said, for instance, that he considered it 'possible' the East Germans would in the future be permitted to register the identity of persons traveling to and from Berlin . . . General Clay also said in several ways that the German problem *might* come closer to a solution in the future as East and West Germany were able to communicate." This is somewhat different from: "REPORT U. S. TELLS BONN TO DEAL WITH EAST REICH" (*Mirror*).

Actually, the ideas that General Clay expressed were not new in either German or allied thinking. But, as Walter Lippmann said the other day: "Although this was the simple and obvious truth, it was startling to find it in print."

That old "national mood"

James A. Wechsler in his column in the *New York Post*, October 2, 1961:

Once again *Time* magazine has undertaken to describe just how "the American people" feel on a big subject. The "national mood" on the Berlin crisis is one of "determination in the face of freshening danger," it reports; "the vast majority of U. S. citizens remained resolved to face Communist pressure without yielding an inch — and many were preparing, in their own individual ways, to meet Khrushchev's worst."

Journalism involves a continual audacity on many levels. The reporter usually arrives at the scene of a crime well after the deed is done; he must hastily reconstruct his account from secondary sources. An editorial writer who has never been within a thousand miles of Laos may be obliged to render judgments based on fragments he has read or heard.

But nothing is quite as presumptuous as the form of omniscience that comes under the heading of "the national mood" story. It is peculiarly fallible in complicated matters of foreign policy; in the process of purporting to describe simple-minded reflexes, it tends to promote them. Who wants to be out of step when *Time* says we are all marching? . . .

Given the simple choice between surrender and adamance, few Americans are likely to choose capitulation. How many of those questioned were asked what their reactions would be to a third choice — an honorably negotiated compromise along one of the

many escape routes from mutual disaster that are now under discussion? A reporter who advanced such a third possibility might soon discover that the "national mood" had a different dimension . . .

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Was the press missing the point?

Quincy Howe, editor of *Atlas: The Magazine of the World Press* (excerpts based on a commentary on *WBAI*, New York, November 3, 1961):

Having spent most of my time since early in 1961 reading, translating, and selecting material from the foreign press, I can hardly fail to discern a widening gulf between the information and interpretation that most of the press of the United States transmits to its readers and the information and interpretation that fill the press of other lands. Like many of my contemporaries, I have experienced that sinking "This is where I came in" sensation in an acute and special form.

Most Americans, during the 1920's, took Coolidge peace and prosperity for granted as they took Eisenhower peace and prosperity for granted during the 1950's. Does this mean that the American press and the American public, which rejected, resisted, and ignored the warnings that filled the foreign press during the early 1930's, will again reject, resist, and ignore similar warnings that now appear in the foreign press of the 1960's?

To cite but two examples: On the same June morning when President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev sat down to their talks in Vienna, the editor-in-chief of West Germany's leading newspaper devoted his leading editorial to what he called "A Strange Question." Before and during the last war, Hans Zehrer had written for and against Hitler. Since the last war, as editor of *Die Welt* — "An Independent Newspaper for Germany" — Zehrer has written for every major West German party, but has always assailed the East German Communists and always supported the West German Federal Republic. Yet on that June day Zehrer raised the question of whether the leaders and people of West Germany could or would defend West Berlin's freedom. Zehrer contrasted Adenauer's rigidity with Bismarck's suppleness; the bluster of Brandt with the dedication of West Berlin's two previous Socialist mayors. Above all Zehrer cited the demoralizing effect of West

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Germany's economic miracle on its bankers, industrialists, middle classes, and working people.

Second example: One week after the East German Communists had built their wall across Berlin, President Gerstenmeier of the West German Bundestag warned that the Federal Republic might "revise its system of alliances" in exchange for Soviet approval of German re-unification. But on July 12, one whole month before the wall went up, Rudolf Augstein, editor of West Germany's leading news weekly, *Der Spiegel*, blurted out the unspoken fears and suspicions of many of his compatriots in an unprecedented three-page editorial: "Geht Berlin Verloren" — "Is Berlin Headed Down the Drain?" *Der Spiegel* did not endorse a Moscow-Bonn Axis; it did insist that Adenauer's foreign policy had ended in total bankruptcy and asserted that Khrushchev could not be prevented from splitting West Berlin off from West Germany, from denying nuclear arms to the West Germans, and from forcing the Western Powers to recognize the East German Democratic Republic.

United States press coverage of the first stages of the Berlin crisis missed these points that the foreign press emphasized. First, American reports from and about Germany ignored the low morale of most West Germans, their obsession with their own material prosperity, their unconcern about West Berlin, their disregard of East Germany, their indifference to re-unification. Second, most American reports on Soviet policy ignored the appeal that the Kremlin had made to Bonn for a reversion to the Rapallo and Berlin Treaties of four decades ago.

Why do we again see these symptoms? For one thing, most American journalists and news executives lag far behind their opposite numbers abroad in their grasp of the history, language, and people of other countries than their own. And precisely those Americans who have the necessary background and talents also tend to display one or the other of two national traits that have always plagued the United States in its dealings with the rest of the world — especially with Europe. On the one hand, the dogmatic American measures the whole world by his own standards, sometimes projecting abroad a false image of his own country, sometimes misinterpreting other countries to his own, and frequently doing both at once. On the other hand, there is the pragmatic American who proceeds from the simple and single proposition that whatever works is right.

Almost a century ago, Henry James began depict-

ing in his novels dogmatic Americans and pragmatic Americans, American women as well as American men, trying and failing to come to terms with Europe. In *The Portrait of a Lady*, the innocent American abroad falls victim to the wicked, sophisticated Old World. In *The American*, the wicked, sophisticated Old World rejects the self-made product of the New. In *The Ambassadors*, Europe utterly frustrates the organized efforts of an outstanding American family even to establish contact with the equivalent social circles in Europe.

During the present century several generations of public figures have duplicated the experiences of the fictional characters of Henry James. Thus, Lloyd George and Clemenceau could no more accept Wilson's dogmatic devotion to the League of Nations than Macmillan and Nehru could accept Dulles's rigid anti-Communism. On the other hand, Roosevelt deliberately rejected any fixed policy or settled principles in his dealings with the Soviet Union. He preferred an improvised combination of personal charm and generous concessions. In like manner, President Kennedy did not apply in Cuba, in Laos, or in Berlin the principles and policies outlined in his Inaugural Address.

If a nation gets the government it deserves it also gets the press it deserves. The shortcomings of the press of the United States therefore parallel and duplicate the shortcomings of the officials of the United States. If the men and women who write and interpret the news seem misinformed or uninformed about the press of other countries, the officials who make and mold the news suffer from the same shortcomings.

Nor is a mere change in reading habits likely to make much difference. The trouble goes much deeper, and only more time and more crises can lead to fundamental change. For until our journalists and news executives, our political, military, and business leaders adopt new ways of thinking and acting toward the outside world, only then can they hope to narrow the widening gulf that now separates the United States from friends, enemies, and neutrals.

Izvestia on the scene

Leo Gruliow, editor of *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, assessed the breadth of information available to Russian readers in an article published in IPI (*International Press Institute*) Report for October, 1961:

The Berlin and nuclear testing stories dominated

the pages of Soviet newspapers throughout August and September. Both stories were presented chiefly in the form of Khrushchev speeches and Soviet government statements, printed in full text on front pages and elaborated in leaders, cartoons and topical verse. There were many pages filled with declarations of support for the Soviet stand, by individuals and organizations both at home and abroad and by newspapers around the world, selectively quoted. In their choice of facts, the Soviet correspondents reporting first-hand from Berlin were equally selective.

Ignoring the flow of refugees into West Berlin was the most conspicuous suppression in the Soviet reporting of the German border closing. According to the Soviet press, guards were posted at the Berlin frontiers, but the border was shut only when West Berlin radio stations issued a call for violation of the frontier by force and "other provocations." On August 17 *Izvestia* told its readers that "the gates are barred only to revanchists, spies and speculators." The border closing, according to Moscow papers, was welcomed by the people of Berlin, who, said *Izvestia*,

were "in a fine mood" and showed happier and gayer faces after the closing.

As for any who had fled to West Berlin in the past, the Soviet press explained that if they were not spies or speculators they had been "enticed by deceit, bribery and blackmail" . . .

One interesting point, with regard to the Berlin reporting, was the extent of "live" coverage by Soviet newsmen on the spot and how effectively their eyewitness stories served to cover up the suppressions of fact. The usual Soviet technique when handling a story requiring heavy suppression is to concentrate on quoting either obscure or openly Communist sources in the West and presenting the resultant mass of quotation as an over-all picture. This was done in both the Berlin and the nuclear testing stories in the Soviet press. But on the Berlin story Soviet reporters were also used extensively and effectively. It was as if the Soviet press had discovered the Hearst technique of making a big splash with first-person reporting (of judiciously selected parts of the story), obscuring the omission of other parts of the story.

II. THE GREAT WORD DEBATE

During its lifetime of seventeen years, many American journalists found a stout companion in the volume called Webster's New International Dictionary: Second Edition. They turned to it as a teacher, a source of amusement, and — most often — as a guide to what could be called the etiquette of the English language.

It is small wonder, then, that many of those devoted to the dictionary were alarmed when its eagerly awaited successor was published last fall by the G. & C. Merriam Company of Springfield, Massachusetts. The new edition was not friendly and instructive; it was detached and seemed to say, "Do what you damn please, I couldn't care less."

Webster's Third (or Bolshevik, as The New York Times called it) International was indeed different. It had 100,000 new terms — some new, some barred from previous editions. It had fewer entries overall. It stated its definitions in single phrases, some of breathtaking length. Most noticeably, it had fewer warning signs that sorted words into such disap-

proved classifications as "slang" or "dialectal."

Life called it a "Non-Word Deluge." The Times urged the dictionary's editors to start over. Both publications concocted monstrously slangy paragraphs from words the Third International failed to warn against. Both announced that the Second International would stay close at hand.

The dictionary's editors maintained that the work they had done had brought the dictionary into line with modern principles of linguistics. A dictionary, they said, should describe the language as it is used and not make judgments that might simply reflect individual or class bias. Philip C. Gove, the chief editor, replied to this effect in *Life* and the *Times*. He also reprimanded the *Times* for stirring up trouble.

Participants in the argument recognized, of course, that the dictionary itself was not the issue, but only the most noteworthy defection in a long war. On one side stood those who believed in adhering to rules, in preserving a certain kind of cultivated English, which they believed to be the most effective tool of

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expression available. On the other side were those who believed themselves to be the scientists of language, who insisted on relativism — a changing language, and many levels of use for it. In the comments reprinted below, both sides record developments on the fighting lines.

A moderate view

In *Saturday Review* for September 30, 1961, David M. Glixon, editor, writer, and translator, reviewed the new dictionary:

Webster's Third New International is a work of tremendous scope, the impressive result of great expenditures of thought and money over the past decade. We are in a quite different era from that of Merriam-Webster's Second Edition, fresh criteria govern the new editorial staff, and thus a statistical comparison of the two volumes would be misleading. It is the criteria themselves that demand examination.

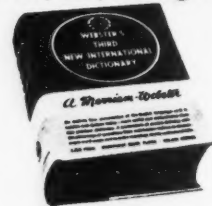
Thousands of pictures and rare words and obsolete meanings have been omitted in order to make room for 100,000 terms that did not appear in the Second Edition, mostly because they had not yet come into the language, but many because of prudery or from other conservative motives. The new edition also employs a vast collection of contemporary quotations to demonstrate how words are used today at all levels of culture: we learn from General Eisenhower and Polly Adler as well as from Yeats and Virginia Woolf. For under the new dispensation the editors do not pretend to rule on what is correct; they merely record the words and pronunciations now prevailing "among the educated and cultured people to whom the language is vernacular." Even the label "colloquial" has been dropped because "it is impossible to know whether a word out of context is colloquial or not."

In this connection it is good to be told that although when used in place of *hasn't* or *haven't*, *ain't* is considered "substandard," you may feel free to use it for *aren't*, *isn't* and *am not*; for in this sense, "though disapproved by many and more common in less educated speech," the word is "used orally in most parts of the U.S. by many cultivated speakers esp. in the phrase *ain't I*." It would seem that per-

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This is the English language as it is spoken and written — a personal key to knowledge, enjoyment, and success for you and your entire family...



Signal for dispute: announcement of Webster III

missiveness, now on the wane in child-rearing, has caught up with the dictionary makers. Having descended from God's throne of supreme authority, the Merriam folks are now seated around the city desk, recording like mad.

A view with alarm

Another writer and editor, assessing the dictionary and its social role in *The Atlantic* for January, 1962, took a less kindly view. Wilson Follett, in "Sabotage in Springfield," wrote in part as follows:

Examination cannot proceed far without revealing that Webster III, behind its front of passionless objectivity, is in truth a fighting document. And the enemy it is out to destroy is every obstinate vestige of linguistic punctilio, every surviving influence that makes for the upholding of standards, every criterion for distinguishing between better usage and worse. In other words, it has gone over bodily to the school that construes traditions as enslaving, the rudimentary principles of syntax as crippling, and taste as irrelevant. This revolution leaves it in the anomalous position of loudly glorifying its own ancestry—which is indeed glorious — while tacitly sabotaging the principles and ideals that brought the preceding Merriam-Webster to its unchallengeable pre-eminence...

The latest Webster whittles away at one after another of the traditionary controls until there is

little or nothing left of them. The controls, to be sure, have often enough been overvalued and overdone by pedants and purists, by martinets and bigots; but more often, and much more importantly, they have worked as aids toward dignified, workmanlike, and cogent uses of the wonderful language that is our inheritance. To erode and undermine them is to convert the language into a confusion of unchanneled, incalculable williwaws, a capricious wind blowing whithersoever it listeth. And that, if we are to judge by the total effect of the pages under scrutiny — 2720 of them and nearly 8000 columns of vocabulary, all compact in Times roman — is exactly what is wanted by the patient and dedicated saboteurs in Springfield. They, if they keep their ears to the ground, will hear many echoes of the despairing cry already wrung from one editorial assistant on a distinguished magazine that still puts its faith in standards: "Why have a Dictionary at all if anything goes?" . . .

The rock-bottom practical truth is that the lexicographer cannot abrogate his authority if he wants to. He may think of himself as a detached scientist reporting the facts of language, declining to recommend use of anything or abstention from anything; but the myriad consultants of his work are not going to see him so. He helps create, not a book of fads and fancies and private opinions, but a Dictionary of the English Language. . . . The fact that the compilers disclaim authority and piously refrain from judgments is meaningless: the work itself, by virtue of its inclusions and exclusions, its mere existence, is a whole universe of judgments, received by millions as the Word from on high.

Elation in Springfield

The comment below is from the February Word Study, a newsletter published by G. & C. Merriam:

Such has been the interest in the publication of Webster's Third New International Dictionary that we do not know of a single city or town in this country that was not aware of its arrival. Though some press reports were both incomplete and inaccurate (releases for *ain't*, for example, which neglected to state that *ain't* has been included in Merriam-Webster dictionaries since 1890 and is labeled *substandard* in Third Edition), the overall reception has been enthusiastically favorable.

It is becoming gratifyingly apparent that in nearly all instances the extent of praise for the new dic-

tionary is in direct proportion to the user's working familiarity with its contents.

[There follow unanimously favorable comments from twenty newspapers, a wire service, a syndicate, and a magazine (The Quill).]

Edict from 43rd Street

The following directive was issued to the staff of The New York Times by Theodore M. Bernstein, assistant managing editor, through the "bulletin of second guessing," Winners & Sinners, for January 4, 1962:

A regional correspondent inquires whether the appearance of Webster's Third New International Dictionary will affect our style. The answer is no. Editors representing the news, Sunday and editorial departments have decided without a dissent to continue to follow Webster's Second Edition for spelling and usage. Webster III will be the authority only for new, principally scientific, words. Two copies of that edition are available in the news department.

The linguistic case

The excerpt below is from a man often identified as a leading "permissivist." He is Bergen Evans, professor of English at Northwestern University. He states his position in Comfortable Words (Random House, 1962):

A language is a man-made convention. Its "correctness" is closer to that of style and manners than it is to that of logic or the physical sciences. Modern linguistic scholars, to a man, agree with Puttenham (1598) that a language is simply speech, "fashioned to the common understanding and accepted by consent." They believe that the only "rules that can be stated for a language are codified observations." They hold, that is, that language is the basis of grammar, not the other way round. They do not believe that any language can become "corrupted" by the linguistic habits of those who speak it. They do not believe that anyone who is a native speaker of standard English will get into any linguistic trouble unless he is misled by snobbishness or timidity or vanity. . . .

The trouble is that in our new Grundyan paradise people . . . all want to speak like educated people but they don't want to go to the trouble of becoming truly educated. They want to believe that a special

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form of socially acceptable and financially valuable speech can be mastered by following a few simple rules. And there is no lack of little books that, preying on their fears and their ignorance and their laziness, offer to supply the rules and promise "correctness" if the rules are adhered to. But these offers are specious. Because you don't speak like an educated person unless you are an educated person; and the little books, if taken seriously, will not only leave the lack of education showing but will expose the pitiful yearning and the basic vulgarity as well, in such sentences as "Whom are you talking about?"

As a matter of fact, the educated man uses at least three languages. With his family and his close friends, on the ordinary, unimportant occasions of daily life, he speaks, much of the time, a monosyllabic sort of shorthand. On more important occasions and when dealing with strangers in his official or business relations, he has a more formal speech that is more complete, less allusive, politely qualified, discreetly reserved. In addition he has some acquaintance with the literary speech of his language. He understands this when he reads it, and often enjoys it, but he hesitates to use it. In times of emotional stress hot fragments of it may come out of him like lava, and in times of feigned emotion, as when giving a pep talk, cold, greasy gobbets of it will be forced out.

The linguist differs from the amateur grammarian in recognizing all of these variations and gradations in the language and accepting them as equally valid in different circumstances. And he differs from the snob in doubting that the speech of any one small group among the language's more than three hun-

dred million daily users constitutes a model for all the rest to imitate.

Those to whom this idea is repugnant — and they are many and vociferous — state that it is the equivalent of saying that anything goes, that whatever anyone happens to say is quite all right. But this is simply their own distortion of something which they are unwilling or unable to understand. The customs and preferences of society are capricious but they are none the less tyrannical. In the United States today, to take a superficial example, one can no more say "I'll set me down and rest for a spell" than one can wear high button shoes. But fashionable people have done both of these things in the past and may do either or both again. . . .

The belief in a theoretically correct grammar, which still plagues so many Americans and leads them into grotesque and unacceptable forms of speech, began in the eighteenth century. And perhaps the truest thing ever said about the evangelical zeal with which we correct each other's speech was said by Joseph Priestley, the author and chemist, who wrote: "I think that a man cannot give a more certain mark of the narrowness of his mind than to show, either by his vanity with respect to himself, or the acrimony of his censure with respect to others, that this business (of grammar) is of such moment to him. We have infinitely greater things before us."

One of these greater things is *good English* — the English that is most effective in a particular time and place, the English that says most precisely just what we want to say, with the proper emotional overtones and with grace and force and beauty. And nothing does more to prevent a person from acquiring this sort of English than a belief in some theoretically correct forms that are supposed to be superior to any actually in use.

III. NEWSPAPERS: UP OR DOWN?

The disappearance of major newspapers (like the pair in Los Angeles in January) inevitably focuses journalists' attention on the general health of the industry. The Review presents here two analyses of the major trends in newspapers. The first is a summation, written at the request of the Review, by Basil L. Walters, a newspaperman for forty-seven years,

and from 1944 until his retirement in 1961 editor of the Chicago Daily News and executive editor for the Knight Newspapers. He now heads Newspaper Research Associates, a consulting concern that assisted in planning the Hearst realignment in Los Angeles. The other contribution is selected paragraphs from an unpublished lecture, "The Media of Communica-

tion and the American Character," delivered by Louis M. Lyons, curator of the Nieman Foundation, on November 3, 1961, in Los Angeles.

Walters: healthy progress

I come to Tucson each year for a week with Doug Martin [reporter, editor, writer, and founder of the University of Arizona journalism department]. When we were on *The Detroit Free Press* we shared a large common desk. Daily we worked out, through exchange of ideas, ways in which to improve the product. Post mortems were used only for the lessons learned from them and then were forgotten. The emphasis was always on the positive and a search for ways in which the product could be improved.

We follow the same system at our annual [seminar] sessions in Tucson. Here's some of the thinking we developed this year:

1. Nobody thinks the automobile business is "fading" just because some of our old favorites are no longer around. Many of the realignments going on in the newspaper business are actually healthy signs of progress.

As communications and mechanical processes improve and populations shift, ways must be found to keep in step. In the Los Angeles area, for instance, there is no lessening of newspaper readership. Small community dailies, many of them excellent, have sprung up all over the area.

To fit themselves into the changed situation, Chandler and Hearst each now publish one enlarged daily instead of two. Each continues to publish on Sunday. This realistic approach leaves Los Angeles with two strong competing local metropolitans.

The Los Angeles metropolitan area is also served by a locally printed *Wall Street Journal*. It will soon print *The National Observer* there also, and before long *The New York Times* will start printing an edition in Los Angeles. These papers, combined with the multitudinous community dailies, television and radio and the national news weeklies, make available a wide selection of reading material.

2. The opportunity for young men and women to own their own papers is as great today as it was when the pioneer printer moved into a growing community with a shirt tail full of type and set up shop. New communities are booming all over the landscape. Cheaper new mechanical processes are available for men with imagination and the daring to take advantage of them. Most of our great newspapers today grew from small beginnings, founded by

men who thought more of opportunity than "security." William Allen White proved years ago that great newspapers are not to be judged by size alone.

3. Two of the most successful papers in Arizona are headed by men of strong conviction who are unafraid to speak out boldly for what they believe. They are Eugene Pulliam of the Phoenix papers and William R. Matthews of *The Arizona Star* of Tucson. Of differing political philosophies, they have proved that readers like editors with guts.

While these papers publish a limited number of syndicated columns, they are not dominated by the rash of them so common in all too many papers.

The nation needs more editors who are leaders and who refuse to be regimented by the "fashionable yack, yack" of men who are making a profession of criticizing the press. Each year finds an increasing number of editors and publishers who produce newspapers geared to their own communities. But there are still too many assembly-line productions, too many papers from coast to coast which lack individuality and which are alike, except for the mastheads.

4. Publishers need to take a hard look at their reporters. The behavior of some of the "statesmen reporters" who "covered" the last political campaign was little short of scandalous. The foundation-supported "wise men" are significantly silent. But a growing number of readers are growing "restless" about it.

5. There may be a lesson for newspapers in the growing popularity of the "compact" automobile. Francis Williams recently wrote, as follows, in *The New Statesman*:

I have the feeling that what the American public now needs even more (than compact automobiles) are a few compact newspapers, something that the ordinary man following an ordinary life could get through in an ordinary day.

I have been told by several intelligent, and worried editors that recent surveys have shown a steady decline in the amount of time readers give to reading of newspapers they still buy. I am not surprised. *They were not written to be read.*

6. While national and international news and opinion were never more essential, all too much of it is merely propaganda rewritten from "hand-outs" and often repetitious. Too much stress on volume and datelines. Too little stress on quality and readability. Afghanistan is important *but so is city hall.*

7. The greatest improvement in many newspapers is in the handling of business news. But it is still

the most fertile of the undeveloped fields. The American public is gradually emerging from its economic illiteracy. Some alert papers are giving as much space to business news as to sports.

8. That old time reporter didn't "write his best story when drunk." The best men and women in journalism are those just coming into the business. Many of them have a passionate urge to excel in every issue, every edition. There's no place in the business for those who do not.

9. Some of the finest papers in America are the "so-called small ones." They're developing new techniques of production, writing, headlining, illustrating and presentation.

10. Newspapers "ain't" fading. Those which do not deserve to live will not only fade, they'll die and make way for brash youngsters with fire and zeal. That's as it should be if we are to avoid a static society.

Lyons: flaws in the system

No way has been contrived to insure the independence of the journalist. In the light of the strategic nature of the press as an institution, this can be counted only a flaw in our system. The prospect of an editor, through his own labor and saving, ac-

quiring control of his newspaper is approximately as remote in our day as for an automotive engineer to own General Motors.

The big newspaper has lost especially an intimate focus for a special community of readers; indeed with the balkanization of the city into suburban satellites, it has lost, in many cases, any community at all, or any sense of relation to a community, save as the Greater Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce represents one.

It is unhappily all too common to find big papers echoing even the most irrational and narrow prejudices of the loudest spokesmen for entrenched interests. Against dominant newspapers of this latter type it takes character and intelligence in the reader to keep his wits about him and see what it is such papers reflect. That vast numbers of readers do, every election proves. The publishers, by and large, are going the same way as their communities only when the community is going conservative. The record throughout the New Deal gave an indelible record of that and it hasn't much changed. It means of course that many readers are not taking such papers seriously on serious matters. They read them for the baseball scores, the stock market or the comics or some special interest. This is the crisis of the press in a great many cities: that it is not being taken seriously because it fails to take its own role seriously enough.

THE CONCISE BARTLETT'S FOR JOURNALISTS

I think that it is not enough for a newspaper man to make up his mind that he won't use his paper to debauch the public conscience; if he is neutral about good and bad and makes his profession, so far as he is able, neutral in doing good and evil, it simply becomes a profession for which you have not much use... — *Theodore Roosevelt, at the Milwaukee Press Club, September 7, 1910.*

The public is placed in the position of the house guest who comments that he likes onions and then receives nothing but onion sandwiches for lunch — cursed in the present for a mild affection of the past. — *Eugene J. Webb, Medill School of Journalism, Northwestern University, commenting on television programming, August 12, 1961.*

Analysis is what your boss agrees with. Editorializing is what he doesn't agree with. — *Sander Vanocur of NBC, addressing NBC radio affiliate representatives, December, 1961.*

American newspapers are amalgamating. One day there is going to be just one newspaper and the whole front page will have to be devoted to the name. — *Remark attributed to James Thurber by Eddie Gilmore of The Associated Press, no date.*

...television started off as pure show business and now they're trying to tack on to show business what journalism always had. And that's why they're floundering: nobody ever died for Broadway. — *C. D. Jackson, publisher of Life, in an interview, "The Press," published by the Center for the Study of Democratic institutions, January, 1962.*

THE BOOK PAGE

A newspaper's story

A HISTORY OF THE ST. LOUIS GLOBE-DEMOCRAT. By Jim Allee Hart. Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Press. \$5.95.

This volume adds to the small stock of sound newspaper biographies. It tells the story of one of the oldest newspapers west of the Mississippi (the *Globe-Democrat* dates back to 1852). The work deals dependably with the century and more behind us and relatively little with the recent past into which Samuel I. Newhouse entered in 1955 upon payment of \$6,250,000 to the late publisher and editor, E. Lansing Ray. — *Irving Dilliard*

Once-over

THE AMERICAN NEWSPAPERMAN. By Bernard A. Weisberger. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Part of The Chicago History of American Civilization. \$4.50.

Mrs. Weisberger, an associate professor of history at the University of Chicago, has written a compact history of the main currents of American journalism. Like all compacts, historical or otherwise, the volume has its shortcomings. It is impossible in 207 pages to include more than a sketchy narrative of newspaper work in the United States. Both the student and the newcomer to journalism will have to consult standard works, particularly histories of individual newspapers and biographies of leading figures, to fill in the gaps. What Mr. Weisberger has done is meritorious, but it simply is not enough. — *J. H.*

UN primer

THE NEWSPAPERMAN'S UNITED NATIONS. A Guide for Journalists about the United Nations and Specialized Agencies. By Jerzy Szapiro. New York: International Documents Service of Columbia University Press. \$2.25.

This volume offers in small compass (229 pages) terse descriptions of the organization of the UN and of its many agencies. Sponsored by UNESCO, it is designed for use as a text in journalism schools and

as a reference for reporters assigned to the UN. It should be noted that, although the book was published in January, 1962, it claims no information more recent than November, 1960. It is therefore a better reference for the structure of the UN than for its recent history. Mr. Szapiro served as a UN information officer from 1946 to 1956.

What the shouting is about

FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY IN BROADCASTING. Edited by John E. Coons. Evanston: Northwestern University Press. \$5.00.

On August 3 and 4, 1961, the Northwestern University School of Law welcomed twenty leaders from fields of communication to a conference on the state of the broadcasting industry. The book contains the proceedings of the conference, with contributions from such men as Newton N. Minow, LeRoy Collins, Ralph McGill, Fairfax M. Cone, and Sig Mickelson. Its theme, stated in the title, is amply explored — both factually and theoretically — in addresses, scholarly papers, and occasionally heated discussion. In the months since the conference, the struggle over government regulation of broadcasting has moved on to new clashes, but this book remains timely and indispensable to an understanding of the struggle as participants see it.

Universal handbook

THE ACTIVE NEWSROOM: IPI Manual on Techniques of News-Editing, Sub-Editing and Photo Editing. Zurich: International Press Institute.

This handsome paperback distills material presented at two IPI seminars for Asian editors, held in India in 1960. Although it is directed primarily at a non-American audience, its specific examples of good and bad editing from many countries can be read profitably anywhere. Likewise, its plea for alertness, cleanness, and precision is universally applicable. The one paper mentioned that is published in the United States — *The New York Times* — is criticized for its nearly illegible all-capitalized headlines.

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ADDITIONS, CORRECTIONS, CORRESPONDENCE

(This section contains addenda to and corrections of the pilot issue of the Review, which was published in October. Readers who were unable to obtain a copy of the issue will find some of its material discussed here.)

Cleaning up 1960

The *Review's* survey of coverage of the 1960 campaign and election brought comments from many sides. The tenor of those that were critical is summarized in the two excerpts below. The first was written by M. Michael Potoker, secretary-treasurer of the Newspaper Guild of New York:

Whether there is bias in newspapers' reporting and coverage will have to be probed again and again in future issues. Political (campaign) bias is by no means the only one, and the *Review* fell too easily for the fairy tale that reporters were the biased ones, in favor of Kennedy, in the 1960 presidential campaign, and that that might have influenced the outcome of the election. Outside of fairy land it is not reporters but their employers who decide which way the press is to be biased.

[Your] 1960 election campaign story is, actually, the usual cover-up of massive Republican bias. One typical paragraph of doubletalk: "Kennedy's biggest blocks of (newspaper) circulation were in New York, which he won; in Georgia, which he won; and in Pennsylvania, which he won. In both Pennsylvania and New York, of course, he had far less newspaper

support than Nixon." (Meaning newspaper bias won for Kennedy though Nixon had far more newspaper support?)

Over-all, there seemed to be too much of balancing both sides of a question and coming up with this on the right side and on the other hand that on the left . . . and let the reader "make up his mind." . . .

The other letter is from Ralph L. Holsinger, managing editor of *The Cincinnati Enquirer*, a portion of whose front page for November 6, 1960 (below), was reproduced in the campaign report.

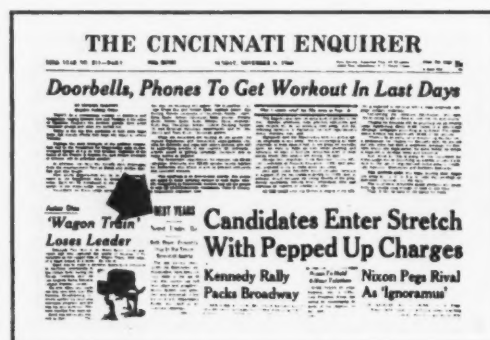
I would like to register a mild protest against your use of a page one from *The Cincinnati Enquirer* as an example of non-balance in political coverage. In the first place, I don't believe you can measure balance in political reporting with a ruler. Your own story concedes this in its conclusion. In the second place, although I was not managing editor at the time, I know that *The Enquirer* news editor worked under a strict injunction to try to balance political stories on page one. The rule was carried to such an extreme that

when Vice President Nixon appeared here he was given equal space that day with Mr. Kennedy, who was speaking in Chicago, New York, or some place a long way off. Likewise, when Mr. Kennedy came to town, Mr. Nixon was given space on page one. . . . it seemed to me that the general tenor of your critique, while I agreed with much of what it had to say, was more sympathetic to President Kennedy than it was to former Vice President Nixon. In other words, I think the standard of fairness that was held out as a guide line all the way through the story might not have been exactly in the center of the road.

The *Review* has found that two recent studies of newspapers in the 1960 campaign tend to confirm in much greater detail what the *Review's* report hinted at: that coverage of important secondary stories was spotty.

One such study was sponsored by the New England Society of Newspaper Editors and conducted by Norman E. Isaacs, executive editor of the Louisville papers;

Enquirer managing editor says (above) that paper did not show "non-balance." The *Review* editors had noted marked story and sandwiching of Kennedy story



Carl E. Lindstrom, former editor of *The Hartford Times*; and Arthur Edward Rowe, an assistant city editor of *The Washington Post*, with assistance from graduate students at Boston University. They studied issues of forty-three of the largest newspapers in New England, dated between October 1 and November 9, 1960, for coverage of two stories: (1) the action of Puerto Rican bishops to influence the election there; (2) the loan by Howard Hughes to Vice President Nixon's brother.

The following excerpts summarize the conclusions of the report:

The remarkable part of the story of the Nixon loan is that it was conspicuous by its absence in most of the New England press.

According to the Boston University processing forms . . . a total of nine newspapers never printed a word about the entire affair. These papers were the *Barre-Montpelier Times-Argus*, *Boston Herald*, *Boston Traveler*, *Brockton Enterprise*, *Burlington Free Press*, *Hartford Courant*, *Lawrence Eagle-Tribune*, *Rutland Herald*, and *Salem Evening News*. According to the same raw material, eight other newspapers used the story on only one day. . . .

Technically, the story could be listed as active on seven days. Only two of the forty-three papers carried an article on each of the seven days. They were the *Waterbury Republican* and *Woonsocket Call*. It is possible that some papers may have omitted, or played down, the story deliberately because of political reasons, but this will never be possible to prove.

The central fact is that whatever the motives or the news-judgment reasoning, the total coverage of the forty-three New England newspapers being studied on this story was meager and incompetent enough to give critical readers sufficient room to suspect actual political bias. . . .

Obviously, there were more than a few newspapers which gave competent, consistent, fair and ade-

quate coverage of the Puerto Rican episode.

But the Committee is astounded by the slowness with which some of the New England press responded to the story. Unlike the Nixon story, this one of the Puerto Rican bishops carried a direct regional interest. It was related to the religious affiliation of the candidate who represented the New England area; it touched on the issue of church vs. state, and few areas in the nation are more sensitive to this issue than New England. For newspapers to react so casually to a story of this nature casts a cloud upon the professional competence of editors and staff members. . . .

The final verdict on the Puerto Rican story must read: No indicated bias. But the Committee is compelled to repeat that there are clear indications of poor judgment and neglect on wire desks.

The Committee would emphasize that there is no reason to believe that a similar study in other sections of the country would have produced different results. The Committee also stresses that this particular study, confined to New England, should not be misinterpreted to draw invidious regional comparisons. Instead, the New England Society of Newspaper Editors deserves praise for subjecting its member newspapers to study and critical examination. . . .

There were those, as recorded, which had excellent records on both stories. Some were competent. Some were merely passing fair. Then there were those which handled both stories in a manner that can only be described variously as slow, sporadic or slapdash.

One might be tempted to find excuses for a smaller newspaper which is often operated with a very few, overburdened staff members. No such excuse can hold for the large newspaper with big, well-staffed desk operations and adequate facilities.

The Committee finds no proof of bias on the part of the majority of the New England press. It is compelled to report, however (and sadly) that the New England Society's next objective might well be one directed toward a raising of professional standards.

The other major study was "Completeness of Press Coverage of the 1960 Presidential Campaign," much of which was published in *Journalism Quarterly* for autumn, 1961. It is the work of Wayne A. Danielson and John B. Adams of the University of North Carolina. They studied a statistically selected sample of ninety papers' coverage of twenty-three events in the campaign between September 1 and November 3. The study was intended to show the coverage available to the average newspaper reader.

Their conclusion was as follows:

According to two estimates — a rigorous one and a lenient one — the average reader of a daily newspaper in the United States would have found his paper covering between 41 per cent and 60 per cent of the campaign events as we defined them. The following . . . factors were significantly related to completeness of coverage scores of newspapers: (1) size of the average weekday newshole; (2) editorial staff size; (3) the number of news services subscribed to; (4) publication seven days a week; and (5) morning publication.

Other findings included:

Our feeling is that most of the news of the campaign broke for the morning papers. Same-day coverage of campaign events was rather rare — at least early in the campaign. . . .

We ran across several examples of afternoon papers which published advance stories which were not followed up the next day, but instead were replaced by still other advance stories. To some extent, we felt that completeness of coverage was sacrificed to timeliness of coverage by the afternoon papers. . . .

We are now trying to find out why some papers with low news potential indexes [calculated from news space, staff, and other factors] were able to cover the campaign so completely, and why some papers with high indexes covered it so inadequately. Our hunch is that a

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key factor is the *political interest and activity* of the paper. . . .

We found no evidence that political endorsement affected coverage in a biasing way; Kennedy-endorsing papers in our sample were generally superior in coverage to Nixon-endorsing papers, but not because they concentrated disproportionately on Kennedy events. As a matter of fact, they reported more Nixon events than did the Nixon papers.

Danielson and Adams also ranked the ninety papers studied for completeness of coverage. Among those at the top were the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, *The New York Times*, *The Sun* (Baltimore), *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, the *Chicago Sun-Times*, *The Dallas Morning News*, *The Detroit Free Press*, the *New Orleans States-Item*, the *Binghamton* (New York) *Press*, and *The Star* (Washington).

Metropolitan papers that ranked low were: the *Daily Record* (Boston), the *Washington* (D.C.) *Daily News*, the *Arkansas Democrat* (Little Rock), the late *Los Angeles Mirror*, the *Columbus Citizen-Journal*, *The Cleveland Press and News*, the *New York Mirror*, and the *Buffalo Courier-Express*. The best of the latter group was found to have covered the campaign only half as effectively as any of the papers in the upper group.

Castro's machines

The *Review* has received an exchange of letters discussing Elmo Roper's "The U.S. Press and the Tractor Deal," which the *Review* reprinted from the *Saturday Review* of August 12, 1961. Mr. Roper charged that newspapers' handling of the unsuccessful plan to gain the release of Cuban rebel

prisoners was "at least loose and misleading, if not actually irresponsible."

Emanuel Freedman, foreign news editor of *The New York Times*, replied that Mr. Roper had based his charges on an Associated Press dispatch appearing only in an early edition of the *Times*, and that a later dispatch dated May 17, 1961, filed by a *Times* correspondent, made clear that the confusion between "tractors" and "bulldozers" had originated with Fidel Castro.

Alan J. Gould, executive editor of the Associated Press, wrote that the Castro speech had used both terms and that the AP had confused neither this point nor the other one in dispute — the value of the machines demanded.

Mr. Roper admitted that he may have pressed too hard the distinction between "tractor" and "bulldozer," but maintained that newspaper coverage still gave a false impression that Castro had raised the ransom suddenly.

The full text of this correspondence will be sent on request.

Pioneer Birch-finders

"Uncovering Birchers," an article by Paul Veblen, executive editor of the *Santa Barbara News-Press*, described how the paper conducted what the *Review* editors called "the first major exposé of the John Birch Society." Martin N. Perry, an editorial writer for the *Wichita Eagle & Beacon*, calls to the *Review's* attention accounts that he says predate the *News-Press* series of January, 1961.

I don't wish to detract from the credit given to Paul Veblen, and

his publisher, Thomas M. Storke, for their exposé. But perhaps it would be of interest to describe earlier accounts of the Birch Society's activities.

Three newspapers published extensive reports on the society, its founder, Robert Welch, and his now famous book, *The Politician*, during the summer of 1960, five and six months before the Santa Barbara articles. There may have been others, but these are known to me:

Chicago Daily News, a series of two articles by Jack Mabley, published July 25 and 26; *Milwaukee Journal*, an article July 31 (picked up that same day by United Press International); *Boston Herald*, a three-part series by Stanley Eames August 28, 29 and 30. I am familiar with these because they formed source material for an article I wrote October 27, 1960, for *The Wichita Eagle* summarizing what had been published.

Thomas Storke, the Santa Barbara publisher, received the Lauterbach Award of the Nieman Foundation for Journalism in November. He also wrote an account of the *News-Press* campaign for *The New York Times Magazine* (December 10, 1961). In it, he said that after the "John Birch fever" of 1961, the "temperature of the body politic is almost back to normal" in Santa Barbara.

Author against shirttail

James S. Pope, who recently retired from the post of executive editor of *The Courier-Journal* of Louisville, wrote an article called "Interpretation — or Shabby Reporting?" for the *Review* pilot issue. Following his article the editors affixed supplementary material from the AP and UPI house newsletters. Mr. Pope comments:

You are familiar with the hazards of getting any meshed debate, in print or on the air, because of the habit of emcees and magazine

editors to create friction, to force conflict even if it does not exist.

Now following my piece is "More on interpretation . . . Although editors may maintain that the trouble with reporting lies with reporters, others say many editors fail to recognize extraordinary reporting . . ."

To me the whole import of this transition is, unintentionally I am sure, quite false. I did not argue that reporters are all wrong and editors are usually right. In fact I would put the chief blame for things I considered evils on editors. I did not refer at all to individual editorial judgment on background pieces such as are cited. This is an entirely different subject, really, from mine.

And so I am afraid that in striving for continuity and conflict an erroneous issue was created. And it is just this slurring of basic questions that makes them all so hard to reconcile, I think.

Experts, by all means

In a portion of a speech reprinted in the pilot issue ("Why Experts?"), Bernard Kilgore, president of *The Wall Street Journal*, said that the trend to specialized reporters and reporting was wrong for newspapers, and that "almost by definition the good reporter is a generalist." James William Morley, acting director of Columbia's East Asian Institute, comments:

I am under the impression that Mr. Kilgore's contention that "newspaper talent . . . can be applied to any field in which events are taking place" is one that is popular among newsmen. But does it hold water? . . .

There are very few — and for some important areas, no — notable American newsmen who are in residence in the Far East and who possess the linguistic and area knowledge to enable them to search out and report the news as they might in our own country.

Why experts? At least in the Far Eastern area, because the Ameri-

can press generally is doing an inadequate job of reporting. How to train such experts seems to me to be one of the serious questions facing schools of journalism. And how to integrate them into the profession and provide adequate space for them in the newspaper is one of the most important questions facing the American press.

A complaint

Jack R. Howard, president of Scripps-Howard Newspapers, protested that the front page of the night edition of the *New York World-Telegram & Sun* for July 18, 1961, was unfairly reproduced in the same feature with final editions of other newspapers ("A Day in America's Press," which showed front pages of sixteen large dailies). "If those working on the story didn't know the difference," he wrote, "they shouldn't have been working on the story." The night edition was the one sent by the *World-Telegram* in response to the *Review's* request for the paper of July 18.

Slips

The *Review* received a number of letters pointing out errors and inaccuracies in the pilot issue. These are noted below:

J. Russell Wiggins and Alfred Friendly of *The Washington Post* cautioned in separate letters that, although they used the term "we" in quotations attributed to them in the *Review* report on campaign coverage, "we" was not to be construed as referring specifically to their newspaper. Mr. Wiggins was discussing lapses in reporters' objectivity; Mr. Friendly, haste in declaring election winners.

Nick B. Williams, editor of the *Los Angeles Times*, pointed out

that Chick Hanson, identified by the *Review* (in "A Changing Paper: *Los Angeles Times*") as an incumbent political editor, had been retired for five years. The *Review* regrets the error, which was caused by hasty transcription in preparing the article for publication.

Bernard Kilgore of *The Wall Street Journal* wrote that his name has no middle initial, least of all "M", as the *Review* had it. The editors may have been thinking of Bernard M. Baruch.

The editor of one of the newspapers described in "How Now, Sacred Cow?" called attention to a typographical error of consequence. At one point, the *Review* printed the word "fined." Corrected, the sentence should read: "An employee was once fired for suggesting that such a story [on drunken driving] be omitted."

To whom it may concern

In a selection of statements, the *Review*, quoting *Time*, had Eugene Pulliam, publisher of the *Indianapolis Star and News*, saying: "I've combed the whole goddam country. There are lots of good journalists around, but they're all cockeyed left-wingers," Mr. Pulliam offers the following comment:

Of course the statement attributed to me in *Time* was completely incorrect for two reasons: In the first place, I have never used the word goddam in an interview in my life. In the second place, we have about eight or ten of the finest editors in America on our papers and not a single one of them are left-wingers. What I did say was that I looked all over the country for a good man — that there are a lot of good editors in America but too many of them, not all, are left-wingers. But, as usual, *Time* writes whatever it damn pleases.

the lower case

Landslide

From the Burlington (Vermont) Free Press for October 30, 1961. Compare headline and story's third paragraph:

Mr. Fleming's BANNER day



The big news in Nashville on October 17, 1961, came from San Francisco. There, Sam Fleming, president of Nashville's Third National Bank, was elected president of the American Bankers Association. In addition to the front-page display (above), the paper also ran biographical details on page 10, a lead editorial ("Congratulations, Sam Fleming!"), and, finally, a full-page ad from the Third National itself.

Vermonters Favor Barry Goldwater

A poll of delegates and alternates to the 1960 Republican National Convention on their current choice for the 1964 GOP nomination for president has shown U. S. Sen. Barry M. Goldwater, R. Ariz., in the lead in Vermont and in the rest of the nation.

The poll, taken by Human Events, a weekly Washington newsletter, showed that about half of those who answered the questionnaire favored Goldwater for the nomination.

Of the 24 delegates and alternates from Vermont, eight responded to the poll. Goldwater received four votes, Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York received three votes and former Vice President Richard M. Nixon received one vote.

Of the total of 2,662 delegates and alternates to the GOP National Convention in 1960, 1,380 responded to the poll, a return of 51.8 per cent.

The results of the poll, as announced by Human Events, showed:

There were 35 votes for other candidates (2.5 per cent) and 32 persons (2.3 per cent) said they were undecided or declined to name their choice.

Vermont's percentage breakdown on a much smaller sample showed a 33 per cent return in the poll, with 50 per cent support for Goldwater, 27.5 per cent support for Rockefeller and 12.5 per cent support for Nixon.

None of the delegates or alternates was identified.

And now a word...

Excerpt from initial decision of Thomas H. Donahue, FCC examiner, in the case of WDKD, Kingstree, South Carolina:

Putting it bluntly

Cover line from the Journal of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, November-December, 1961:

Philadelphia Illiteracy Aided by TV p. 14

43. During WDKD's composite week the station carried 1,448 spot announcements. 13/ This figure, while it may reflect an annual average, does not reflect the numerical peaks and concentration of spot announcements which the station frequently achieved. For example, on August 6 and 7, 1960, the station carried 448 and 475 spot announcements respectively on those two days. On October 16, 1959, the "Nyan Time" program which began at 10:10 a.m. contained spot announcements at the following intervals of time: 10:10, 10:12, 10:14, 10:18, 10:19, 10:21, 10:22, 10:23, 10:24, 10:25, 10:27, 10:28. In the time segment between 10:45 and 10:59 spot announcements were carried at 10:48, 10:49, 10:50, 10:52, 10:53, 10:54, 10:55, 10:57, and 10:58. On October 9, 1959, the program "Three B's in Music" contained commercial spots carried at 2:03, 2:04, 2:05, 2:06, 2:07, 2:08, 2:09, 2:10, 2:11, and 2:12. On the program entitled, "Spiritual Crossroads" broadcast the same day between 2:30 and 2:44:30 spots were listed at 2:32, 2:34, 2:35, 2:36, 2:37, 2:38, 2:39, 2:40, 2:41, 2:42, and 2:43. On the program, "Memory Lane" beginning at 5:15 and ending 5:29:30 also broadcast on October 9 spots were carried at 5:18, 5:20, 5:21, 5:22, 5:23, 5:24, 5:25, 5:26, 5:27, 5:28, and 5:29. On October 22, 1959, on program "Records at Random" spot announcements were carried at 1:32, 1:34, 1:35, 1:36, 1:37, 1:38, 1:39, 1:40, 1:41, 1:42, 1:43, and 1:44. On October 10, 1959, the program "Nyan Time" included spot announcements at 10:30, 10:32:30, 10:33, 10:33:30, 10:34:30, 10:37:30, 10:38, 10:38:30, 10:39:30, 10:42, 10:42:30, 10:44. On Christmas Day 1959 on a program entitled "Christmas Music" WDKD carried commercials at the following times between 2:30 and 2:59:20: 2:31, 2:31:30, 2:32, 2:32:30, 2:33, 2:33:30, 2:34, 2:34:30, 2:35, 2:35:30, 2:36, 2:36:30, 2:38, 2:38, 2:40, 2:41, 2:42, 2:43, 2:46, 2:46:30, 2:47, 2:47:30, 2:48, 2:48:30, 2:49, 2:49:30, 2:50, 2:50:30, 2:51, 2:51:30, 2:52, 2:52:30, 2:53, 2:53:30, and 2:55; and during the time segment from 3:39:30 to 3:45 at the following times: 3:31:30, 3:32, 3:32:45, 3:33, 3:33:30, 3:34, 3:34:30, 3:36:30, 3:37, 3:37:45, 3:38, 3:38:30, 3:39, 3:39:30, 3:40:25, 3:41, 3:45.

In other words, 925 commercials in two days.

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IN PASSING

ASSORTED VIEWS OF THE EDITORS

Debut — with thanks

The *Review's* experimental pilot issue published last fall was sent, with a request for reactions, to hundreds of editors, publishers, broadcasters, and other journalists, and to Graduate School of Journalism alumni. One newspaper editor, one publisher of a specialized magazine, and six alumni reacted with unblemished hostility. Twenty-five or so criticized individual items but said, in effect, "It's needed."

The remaining 470-odd replies made us blush. They heaped praise on the pilot issue, with such words as "excellent," "long overdue," and "badly needed." We regard the compliments more as a reflection of a need than as a tribute to that first pilot effort. They also seem to be evidence that, contrary to a widespread theory, the news profession can take criticism as well as anyone else if the criticism attempts to be fair and balanced.

Rather than fill eight or ten pages with bouquets from distinguished readers, the editors here record their gratitude for the encouragement, which made easy the decision to put the *Review* on a regular quarterly basis.

On being constructive

The temptation of any critical review is to be more negative than affirmative. Volunteered articles and items from friends in journalism for example, have so far run about ten critical for every one that is complimentary. This, in a sense, reflects human nature. Two women rarely talk over the back fence about how well the Smiths are getting along.

The *Review*, nonetheless, has assigned itself the mission of singling out and saluting what is decent, fair, and responsible in the news media. The task is not always easy. The pilot-issue invitation to readers to nominate news organizations, large or small, deserving citation for consistently honorable and respectable service, has played to a magnificent hush. To date two nominations have arrived.

The *Review* intends to persist. In the meantime we scowl at those who continually hark back to the good old days of superior journalism.

There are today questionable news practices, bad

newspapers, dubious magazines, and shabby news broadcasts. About these the *Review* will have its say. At the same time, our own informal surveying convinces us that most of the nation's newspapers, while reduced in number and blander in tone, are generally providing fairer news balance, more significant news as opposed to sensationalized trivia, and more readable writing than was true at any earlier time. News magazines are more broadly informative — with editorializing less pronounced. Broadcasters, whatever their motivation, are providing more and better news and public affairs programs.

Our chief concern is whether the improvement is rapid enough to meet the needs of 1962. The *Review* hopes at least to pay its respects to those media that are achieving such improvement.

Paar course

Jack Paar's pettish assaults on what he conceived to be the American press led once more to that huddling-together reaction that some American newspapers and their trade press display under wild sniping. For once, it seems, the reaction could have been a little serenity — and a little less space for Paar.

The Review wonders —

Why *The New York Times*, of all papers, still gives masthead listing to corporate officers only, without mentioning a single editor.

When someone will create a real furor over ownership of broadcasting stations by members of Congress or their relatives — and over the possible influence on Federal Communications Commission policies.

Why so many news media were so quick to find opportunities for advertising and promotion in the government fallout-shelter program, and so slow to grasp and report the complexities of the issue.

Why the three local "CBS Views the Press" shows in New York, Chicago, and St. Louis (which strike us as generally pertinent and mature) have not yet within our hearing acknowledged that radio and television news has committed many of the same sins they attribute to newspapers and magazines.